

LONG BEACH, CAL.  
INDEPENDENT

M - 49,632

FEB 18 1977

## Radio Free Europe's cost

Radio Free Europe undoubtedly does a fine job of getting the truth to the people of the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe.

One bit of truth it doesn't tell them, however, is that it is financed by the U.S. government. Radio Free Europe has always insisted it is privately financed, and it stages elaborate fund-raising campaigns in the United States.

BUT WHEN Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., complained that the funds to operate Radio Free Europe come mostly from the Central Intelligence Agency without specific congressional authorization, Radio Free Europe's reply was silence. The report has been published before by reliable newsmen. If it were not true, Radio Free Europe would surely not refuse to comment on it.

Case proposes that Congress appropriate \$30 million for this year's operation of Radio Free Europe and

its companion organization, Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union. That amount matches the money Case said the operations cost last year.

RADIO FREE EUROPE'S pleas for public support — which reportedly cost \$12 million to \$20 million in free media time and space last year — apparently brought in less than \$100,000, Case said.

We see no reason the United States should be ashamed to finance a broadcast system that gets undistorted news to the Soviet Union and the Communist captive nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. We agree with Senator Case that, for the sake of the reputation of Radio Free Europe and of the United States itself, financing for the operation should be open and public.

February 25, 1971

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It ought to sue for peace. In fact, if the South Vietnamese reverses continue, Hanoi may well end up believing they are much closer to a military victory than they themselves had thought. In any case, nothing about this operation would seem to serve the cause of a negotiated settlement and final peace.

Plainly we should now be on a very different course. We should not be expanding the war, but trying to find ways to deescalate it. We should not be taking actions in Indochina which seem to assure our further and deeper entanglement. We should, instead, be deciding on a date on which to end our involvement. We should not be seeking a military solution in southern Laos; we should be seeking a political solution in Paris to end the war in Vietnam.

#### ADOPTION OF RULES BY COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, at its organizational meeting on February 18, 1971, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare readopted its existing rules governing the committee's procedures.

I send a copy of the committee's rules to the desk and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record as required by section 133B of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended.

The committee will meet again shortly to consider amendments to these rules and any amendments then adopted will also be submitted for publication in the Record.

There being no objection, the rules were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### RULES AND PROCEDURES OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

**Rule 1.** Unless the Senate is meeting at the time, or it is otherwise ordered, and notice given, the Committee shall meet regularly at 10:30 a.m. on the second and fourth Thursday of each month. The Chairman may, upon proper notice, call such additional meetings as he may deem necessary.

**Rule 2.** The Chairman of the Committee (subcommittee), or if the Chairman is not present, the ranking Majority member present shall preside at all meetings.

**Rule 3.** All hearings conducted by the Committee (subcommittee) shall be open to the public except:

1. Executive sessions for the consideration of bills or resolutions, or
2. For voting, or
3. Where the Committee (subcommittee) by majority vote of those present orders an Executive session.

**Rule 4.** For the purpose of conducting an Executive session, a majority of the Committee (subcommittee) actually present shall constitute a quorum. No measure or recommendation shall be reported from the Committee (subcommittee) unless a quorum of the Committee (subcommittee) is actually present at the time such action is taken. Votes by proxy shall be permitted.

**Rule 5.** For the purpose of conducting public hearings (including the taking of sworn testimony) a quorum shall be determined as follows:

- (a) For the full Committee—five members actually present.
- (b) For seven-member subcommittee—three members actually present.
- (c) For five-member subcommittee—two members actually present.

**Rule 6.** There shall be kept a complete record of all Committee (subcommittee) action. Such records shall contain the vote cast by each member of the Committee (subcommittee) on any question which a "yea and nay" vote is demanded.

The Clerk of the Committee, or his assistant, shall act as recording secretary of all proceedings before the Committee (subcommittee).

**Rule 7.** The Committee (subcommittee) shall so far as practicable, require all witnesses heard before it, to file written statements of their proposed testimony at least seventy-two hours before a hearing and to limit their oral presentation to brief summaries of their arguments. The presiding officer at any hearing is authorized to limit the time of each witness appearing before the Committee (subcommittee).

The Committee (subcommittee) shall, as far as practicable, utilize testimony previously taken on bills and measures similar to those before it for consideration.

**Rule 8.** Should a subcommittee fail to report back to the full Committee on any measure within a reasonable time, the Chairman may withdraw the measure from such subcommittee and report that fact to the full Committee for further disposition.

**Rule 9.** No subcommittee may schedule a meeting or hearing at a time designated for a hearing or meeting of the full Committee.

**Rule 10.** It shall be the duty of the Chairman to report or cause to be reported to the Senate, any measure or recommendation approved by the Committee and to take or cause to be taken, necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote.

**Rule 11.** No person other than members of the Committee (subcommittee) and members of the staff of the Committee, shall be permitted to attend the Executive sessions of the Committee (subcommittee), except by special dispensation of the Committee (subcommittee), or the Chairman thereof.

**Rule 12.** The Chairman of the Committee (subcommittee) shall be empowered to adjourn any meeting of the Committee (subcommittee) if a quorum is not present within fifteen minutes of the time scheduled for such meeting.

**Rule 13.** Whenever a bill or joint resolution repealing or amending any statute or part thereof shall be before the Committee (subcommittee) for final consideration, the Clerk shall place before each member of the Committee (subcommittee) a print of the statute or the part or section thereof to be amended or repealed showing by stricken-through type, the part or parts to be omitted, and in italics, the matter proposed to be added.

#### Rule 14. Investigation Procedures

a. An investigating committee (subcommittee) may be authorized only by the action of a majority of the committee.

b. No investigating committee (subcommittee) is authorized to hold a hearing to hear subpoenaed witnesses or take sworn testimony unless a majority of the Members of the committee or subcommittee are present: Provided, however, that the committee may authorize the presence of a Majority and a Minority Member to constitute a quorum.

c. An investigating committee (subcommittee) may not delegate its authority to issue subpoenas except by a vote of the committee (subcommittee).

d. No hearing shall be initiated unless the investigating committee (subcommittee) has specifically authorized such hearing.

e. No hearing of an investigating committee (subcommittee) shall be scheduled outside of the District of Columbia except by the majority vote of the committee (subcommittee).

f. No confidential testimony taken or confidential material presented in an executive

hearing of an investigating committee (subcommittee) or any report of the proceedings of such an executive hearing shall be made public, either in whole or in part or by way of summary, unless authorized by a majority of the Members of the committee (subcommittee).

g. Any witness summoned to a public or executive hearing may be accompanied by counsel of his own choosing who shall be permitted while the witness is testifying to advise him of his legal rights.

**Rule 15.** Subject to statutory requirements imposed on the Committee with respect to procedure, the rules of the Committee may be changed, modified, amended or suspended at any time, provided, however, that not less than a majority of the entire membership so determine at a regular meeting with due notice, or at a meeting specifically called for that purpose.

#### PRESS REACTION TO SENATOR CASE'S RADIO FREE EUROPE INITIATIVE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, recently my close colleague, the senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), took an important initiative in bringing before the Senate and the Nation certain facts concerning the funding and operation of Radio Free Europe. Senator CASE's initiative has attracted considerable attention in the press. I ask unanimous consent that a selection of press articles on this subject be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin, Jan. 24, 1971]

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE GETS SECRET AID FROM CIA, CASE SAYS; ASKS CONTROL

(By Linda J. Heffner)

WASHINGTON.—Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ), charging that millions of dollars in Central Intelligence Agency funds is used to operate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, is urging Congress to control the funding of the two stations.

Case said he plans to introduce legislation tomorrow calling for the two propaganda stations to be operated "under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress."

"During the last 20 years," Case said in a statement yesterday, "several hundred million dollars in U.S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe."

"In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by the CIA as a direct government subsidy, yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

#### MOST COSTS LINKED TO CIA

Case said that although Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty both claim to be non-governmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, high sources indicate that direct CIA subsidies pay nearly all their costs.

According to Internal Revenue Service returns, he said, the combined operating cost of the two stations for fiscal 1969 was almost \$34 million—21.1 million for Radio Free Europe and \$12.8 million for Radio Liberty.

Although Radio Free Europe conducts a fund-raising campaign each year, Case said, he has been informed that only about \$12 to \$20 million in free advertising space is donated, less than \$100,000 is contributed by

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Mr. MANDEL. Mr. President, I say that the Senator from Michigan could not be more wrong than in the interpretation in the statement which he has made.

We recognize the fact that the President is trying to withdraw, that he has made considerable progress in that respect, and we anticipate without question that, in keeping with his word, by the first of May there will be left in Vietnam a total of 284,000 American personnel, compared to the almost 550,000 who were there when he took office.

It is too bad that, in our scheme of things, when one party or the other takes a stand on a particular issue such as this, the cry of politics is raised. May I assure the distinguished acting minority leader that nothing was further from the thoughts of the Senator from Montana, the majority leader, or the members of the policy committee or, in my judgment, the members of the conference.

There is a distinct difference of opinion but what we were trying to do was to be constructive. What we want to do is to help the President. We know that his burdens are heavy. We know that he has the ultimate responsibility, but, by the same token, we know that as individual Senators we have a responsibility, and as a party and as a Senate we have responsibilities as well.

There was no thought, I repeat, of politics in taking this action, but I am not surprised that the cry has been raised. That appears to be inevitable no matter what is attempted. The cry of politics, if it does not meet with the approval of the other side, is raised immediately.

I think I can say without fear of contradiction that I have been one of the least partisan Senators and one of the least partisan majority leaders that this body has ever seen. Moreover, I would point out that in the final resolving clause, the majority resolution states:

That in pursuit of these objectives—

That means all of them—

the committee urges full support wherever possible by both Senate Democrats and Republicans of the initiatives of the President, the Senate Committees and Members, and the House, which may be pertinent to these ends.

So I want the record clear. I want it clearly understood that we are concerned, that we understand the concern of the President and our colleagues across the aisle, and that as far as the charge of politics is concerned, there is absolutely—absolutely—no foundation for such an allegation or charge whatsoever. The record should be clear.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I appreciate the statement made by the distinguished majority leader. He is the fairest and most nonpartisan majority leader that the Senate has ever had, so far as the junior Senator from Michigan knows, and I commend him upon the statement he has just made. Perhaps it will be helpful as the American people and the press seek to interpret the action taken at the Democratic caucus yesterday, and the motives behind it.

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#### APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 90-264, appoints the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON) to the National Visitor Facilities Advisory Commission.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 84-372, appoints the Senator from Illinois (Mr. STEVENSON) to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 83-420, appoints the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) to the Board of Directors of Gallaudet College.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 79-565, appoints the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN) to the U.S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 84-944, appoints the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMMARELL) to the Senate Office Building Commission.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 86-380, appoints the following Senators to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: (Mr. ERVIN, Mr. MUSKIE, and Mr. MURDER).

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Public Law 90-259, appoints the following Senators to be advisory members to the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control: Mr. MAGNUSON and Mr. BOGGS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under a previous order, the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES) is recognized for 15 minutes.

#### HIDDEN CIA FINANCING

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, every day we seem to discover more examples of the misuse of Government funds.

Senator Case has now performed a valuable public service by drawing attention to secret financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Since such covert funding weakens the effectiveness of these organizations, I agree that no further financing should come from the CIA.

These points have been well expressed in an editorial from the Des Moines Register of February 3. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### HIDDEN CIA FINANCING

Senator Clifford P. Case (Rep., N.J.) says that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty got from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) more than \$30 million of the \$34 million they spent in 1969. In 20 years, Case says, the U.S. government has given these broad-

cast stations more than \$100 million dollars without congressional approval or knowledge.

Case isn't necessarily for cutting off government support, but he does want it brought into the open where it can be debated on its merits. It is time.

Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union in a number of Soviet languages. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the other East European Communist states, in their languages. Both use anti-Communist exiles from the target countries for staff, and broadcast news, culture and political points of view.

Both were founded by American citizens, and Americans have been prominent in their top management and fund-raising. The two broadcasting systems pose as being privately supported, but their spending is way out of proportion to their private fund-raising.

It has been widely suspected for years that they depended heavily on CIA money and that perhaps they were CIA operations from the ground up. But it wasn't polite to say so.

Didn't Radio Liberty have Herbert Hoover, Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower for honorary chairmen? Radio Free Europe's American fund-raising chairmen began with Lucius D. Clay and Henry Ford II, and the drive won endorsement of successive Presidents and governors.

There was criticism of Radio Free Europe at the time of the Hungarian revolt of 1956, for fear its "freedom" talk lured Hungarians into fighting and dying. Other exile radios did call for armed revolt (perhaps also with CIA money), but Radio Free Europe was too big and too established for that.

In 1967 the CIA was caught subsidizing the private National Student Association so it could go to international meetings and stand up to Communist-subsidized student organizations. A new group of student leaders denounced the arrangement, and the government announced that thereafter it would not provide secret funds, directly or indirectly, to "educational or private volunteer organizations."

Asked Senator Case in 1971: Doesn't that rule apply to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty?

The government did not directly deny or confirm Case's figures on their funds or answer directly his question. But it did say that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "are not educational or private voluntary organizations" and that it intends to continue financing them—if it is financing them. What it is.

Dean Rusk when he was secretary of state used to call covert operations "dirty tricks" and once facetiously described the CIA as "Department of Dirty Tricks." But he emphasized that only a small part of its work consisted of covert operations (as distinguished from fact-finding) and that not all these operations were "dirty."

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are not "dirty." While their fund-raising has been mostly covert, their activities have been broadcast for anyone to hear.

The argument for having them in addition to official Voice of America broadcasts was that, being private, they could be harder-hitting. Using exiles as writers and broadcasters, they could say "We Russians," "We Poles," "We Ukrainians" instead of "We the United States." This had some real value.

But the phony financing has gone on long enough. It never really fooled the Communist governments, and we doubt if it fooled many American congressmen. As Case says, it ought to be public knowledge.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order entered yesterday, the distinguished Senator from Virginia (Mr. SROWE) is recognized for 15 minutes.

24 FEB 1971

## Prague Frees Ex-Aide Of Radio-Free Europe

✓ PRAGUE (AP) — Fred H. Eidlin, an American serving a four-year prison term on charges of subversion, was taken from his cell by two plainclothesmen today and put on a Hungarian airliner for Amsterdam.

The U.S. Embassy in Prague said he had a reservation to continue to New York later today.

Eidlin, 28, of Rochester, N.Y., had been in prison since July. A Prague court convicted him Dec. 18, ruling that his employment in 1968-69 by Radio Free Europe in West Germany was a subversive act against Czechoslovakia.

A dented and rusted prison car, a Russian Volga, brought Eidlin from the prison to the plane 10 minutes before takeoff. Authorities agreed Friday to an appeal that he be expelled immediately.

Kent Brown, a U.S. consul assigned to accompany Eidlin to Amsterdam, and two dozen other passengers already were aboard the airliner when Eidlin arrived. Brown met Eidlin at the top of the ramp and helped carry his suitcase into the plane.

The young man appeared to be wearing the same blue blazer he wore at his trial and had no topcoat.

Eidlin's sentence called for expulsion after Eidlin served four years, but his lawyer here said

Afterward the embassy said it was surprised his sentence was so severe but did not comment further because of the pending appeal.

An embassy representative visited Eidlin every few weeks during his stay in Prague's Ruzyně Prison, and two U.S. diplomats were at his one-day trial. Eidlin is a student of East European affairs at Toronto University.

WASHINGTON 1969

22 FEB 1971

## Soviets Again Say U.S. Took Radio Frequency

The Soviet Union last week renewed complaints that the United States has usurped a long-wave radio frequency that had been reserved for Radio Moscow.

The issue, which was raised with American diplomats in Moscow and popped up at least twice during the week in the Soviet press, was seen by officials here as part of a campaign to deprive Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty of their headquarters in West Germany.

Radio Moscow, in an English language broadcast beamed to North America said: "The Soviet Foreign Ministry has again called the United States' attention to the illegal use of the 173-kilocycle frequency by the Voice of America transmitter in Munich . . . The Soviet Union . . . has protested about these illegal actions." Tass, meanwhile, said that VOA was using the frequency "in flagrant disregard for accepted international norms."

The VOA resumed use of frequency 173 in mid-1969 in an effort to counter Soviet jamming of voice broadcasts. The frequency had been allocated to Radio Moscow by the 1948 Copenhagen Convention.

VOA is a government-run operation entirely separate from Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. But Tass went on to draw RFE and Radio Liberty into its dispatch on what it called the illegal use of frequency 173. Tass described RFE and Radio Liberty as "so-called 'private radio stations' which are in fact, and the Americans themselves have admitted this, branches of the CIA, gener-

ously financed by American intelligence."

VOA officials noted that the Russian campaign against U.S. use of long-wave frequency 173 had been quiescent for some time but was revived after Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) introduced a bill to put congressional controls on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Case charged that these operations were secretly financed over the last 20 years with "several hundred million dollars in U.S. government funds."

U.S. officials also linked the Soviet campaign against the American broadcasting organizations to the recently signed Bonn-Moscow treaty. They believe Moscow is trying to use West German desire for détente in Europe as a means to squeeze these organizations out of a base.

STATINTL

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.  
PRESS FEB 21 1971

E - 133,419  
S - 138,539

STATINTL

## CIA Conceals Millions

Reports that U.S. aircraft mistakenly bombed a Central Intelligence Agency headquarters in northern Laos are likely to revive congressional demands for a more thorough accounting of the CIA's activities and spending.

Theoretically the CIA is an intelligence gathering and coordinating body, but there have been disturbing signs that the super-secret agency determines foreign policy rather than merely assists with its formation.

Recently, Sen. Clifford Case charged that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are financed by the CIA, and that they cost taxpayers more than \$30 million annually.

This has been going on for more than 20 years, says Case, without the same authorization and appropriation process with which Congress controls budgets of other federal agencies.

Case says he doesn't want to end operation of the stations or even the government subsidy; he just wants to bring into the open the cost of the operation, and he feels that it is Congress' responsibility to see that taxpayer funds are used and accounted for properly.

Both stations beam their broad-

casts to Communist-controlled countries in Eastern Europe, and they both maintain that they are financed through private contributions.

CIA's possible link to the radio operations is especially pertinent because it follows the 1967 uproar over the agency's role in helping to finance certain programs of the National Student Association, a group supposedly free of government influence.

That particular CIA funding was investigated by a presidential commission which decided that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations," and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy."

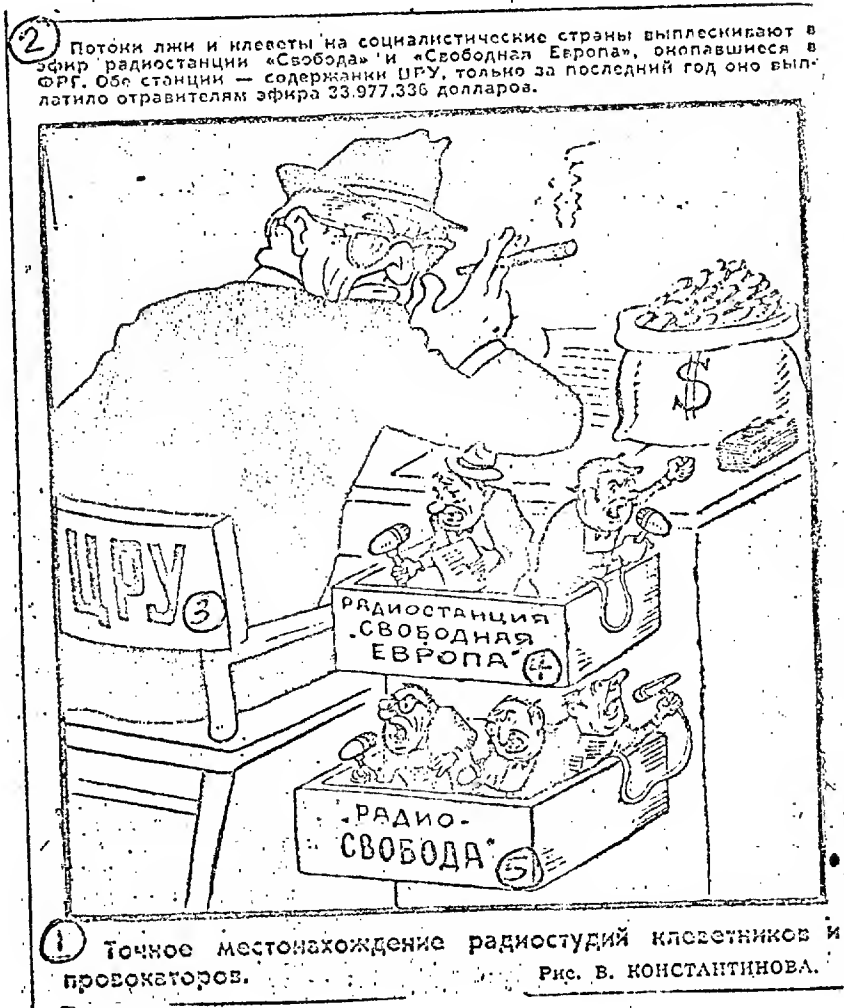
The question seems to be simple enough: Should the CIA, which properly must conceal hundreds of millions of dollars in its budget, use its privileged position as a sanctuary for administration spending policies which rightfully belong with Congress?

Sen. Case thinks not, and we would tend to agree, for it cripples the system of checks and balances upon which this democracy thrives.

CARTOON CAPTION ON RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE

Moscow, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 17 Feb 71 p 4 X

1. The exact location of the radio studios of the slanderers and provocateurs.
2. Torrents of lies and slanders to socialist countries spill out in the broadcasts of radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe" which are entrenched in West Germany. Both stations are in the keep of the CIA which last year alone paid out \$33,977,336 to the poisoners of the ether.
3. CIA
4. Radio Free Europe
5. Radio Liberty



ANNISTON, ALA.

STAR FEB 15 1978

E - 24,277

S - 24,465

WHERE FUNDS GO?

I am writing this letter in regard to an article I read in the Star a couple of days ago. This article stated that Radio Free Europe isn't free. Instead it costs the American taxpayers \$30 million annually. Radio Free Europe was supposed to be supported by private contributions.

Most Americans do not know the real facts. The funds are obtained through the Central Intelligence Agency under a series of fake foundations. What other organizations are CIA fronts, and what other unknown deeds are performed in the name of and the expense of the American taxpayers? Maybe now taxpayers will try to find out where their money is going.

BEVERLY NEWTON

Oxford, Rt. 2



**LETTERS****The Future of Radio Free Europe**

In your article on Radio Free Europe (THE MEDIA, Feb. 8), you discussed the possible effects my proposal for open U.S. funding of that agency might have on the West German Government and, ultimately, RFE's future. But you did not mention that my stated intention was not to close down RFE but only to bring it under the normal constitutional process where it would be supported by funds voted directly by the Congress rather than, as is now the case, dependent on covert funds supplied by the CIA:

My proposal is in accord with the recommendations of the 1967 Presidential committee under Nicholas Katzenbach, which said: "No Federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organizations." It would also be in accord with the maxim that a policy based on concealment from the American public cannot be sound.

You wrote that "though most knowledgeable observers have long assumed that RFE is at least partially funded by Washington, so long as there was no official confirmation of this assumption, [West German Chancellor] Brandt had at least a fig leaf of verisimilitude as protection." The only difference is that now the American people know as much as knowledgeable observers. In any event, I am opposed to a U.S. policy which is so fragile that it depends on a "fig leaf of verisimilitude"—and one that has cost the taxpayer several hundred million dollars over the last twenty years. What is valuable in Radio Free Europe should be able to survive under open U.S. Government support and without covert CIA funding.

CLIFFORD P. CASE  
U.S. Senator

Washington, D.C.

STATINTL

to the County Park Authority. Lawrence asked that the county resist attempts to build any more highways through what is to be known as Ellanor Campbell Hayes Lawrence Park in honor of his late wife, and that the dilapidated one-lane bridge over Big Rocky Run be replaced with a two-lane bridge faced with stone from the pre-Revolutionary quarry on the property.

Lawrence added that it would be nice if the County Park Authority would allow the Rocky Run Garden Club, of which Mrs. Lawrence was a founder, to continue meeting in the old wheat mill as it has for 40 years or so. But he does not insist upon it.

There are those who use their philanthropy to buy a kind of immortality: to keep their names engraved in stone somewhere or to make sure some young fellow doesn't spend the fortune in a way of which its amasser would not have approved or to preserve some land the former owner loved.

Not Lawrence. He confesses affection for the trees that cover most of Middlegate Farm, but he doesn't demand their preservation. He'd like the mill, one of the largest and oldest in the county, to be restored (the Lawrences have used it as a guesthouse) but doesn't require it.

"The place will be theirs," he said. "I expect they'll take care of it. Ellanor and the children and I have had a great deal of pleasure from it and I hope the people of the county will."

Lawrence will talk about the land, which was camped on and fought over by both sides during the Civil War, Battles of Bull Run (First and Second Manassas), but discourages questions about himself and his philanthropy.

"My wife loved the trees, couldn't stand to have one cut and didn't like to see them fall. She picked the land when we bought it in 1935 (the bulk of it for about \$16,000). It was in her name. In her will (Mrs. Lawrence died in June, 1969) she said it was to be donated to a beneficiary of my choice."

"Through the years the Scouts and other groups had come to study nature there, so I thought we should leave it to the people who live in Fairfax and their friends."

Actually, Middlegate Farm is Lawrence's second major gift to Fairfax residents. The first, and some would say the most important one, was the county executive form of government, which was adopted by the voters in 1950 after a masterful campaign designed and executed principally by Lawrence.

In that fight he took on and beat every powerful political group: the entrenched Byrd Organization under the so-called Court-house Crowd headed by the late Circuit Judge Paul E. Brown, and the coalition that had developed the reform movement, which included the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Citizens Association and the Good Government League. He also beat down the chairman of the county's governmental study commission, of which Lawrence was vice chairman.

The Byrd Organization was trying to hold on to the existing county board form, under which power was concentrated in the hands of Judge Brown, able and articulate and arch-conservative.

The coalition, including Lawrence's chairman, was pressing for the county manager form, under which all members of the ruling board would have been elected at large.

Lawrence cried a pox on both their houses in this pre-election letter to The Washington Post:

"The political power today in Fairfax County . . . is vested primarily in a few officials who are elected by county-wide voting. They are the ones who are today fighting change in Fairfax County's government."

"Their brothers under the skin—the politicians who are lurking behind the pressure groups to take over under the county manager system—will be more firmly entrenched in

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"Each voter would be voting for six supervisors under the county manager plan. It is conceivable that the voters in one district will know enough about the personal capacity of any of the 10 or more candidates for the board from the other districts—or will the voters have to depend upon the political machine or a coalition of pressure groups to hand them a slate on which to vote 'ja'?"

That kind of rhetoric apparently blew all his opponents down, good guys and bad buys together, because the voters gave their "ja" to Lawrence's plan by 5,210 to 3,502.

Lawrence then headed a team that put the county executive form into effect over a two-year period. The new government wasn't perfect by any means—several supervisors have gone to prison for zoning bribery conspiracy—but the more efficient and flexible county executive system at least survived the population boom that started in the 1950s.

Judge Brown, a Virginia gentleman of the old school, was not one to let political differences interfere with friendships. He continued to invite Lawrence as a speaker before the Off the Record Club, a group of Fairfax squires who met to discuss political issues privately and informally.

The squires no longer meet. Most are dead or retired. But David Lawrence marches on, cranking out five newspaper columns a week as he has for 53 years, plus the back page spot in the magazine. Whether he's at his vacation home in Sarasota, Fla., the farm or his suite at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, he always has his news ticker and a direct telephone line to his office at U.S. News.

His lifetime routine remains unbroken, although a friend said "it's just a routine now, with Ellanor gone. She was the center around whom he revolved."

Lawrence said it himself during the Medal of Freedom award ceremony at the White House on April 22:

"I have a sentimental interest in the White House. I started writing about White House activities when I graduated from Princeton in 1910 when Mr. Taft was President . . . It so happened in the early years I was sitting in the White House lobby when a beautiful girl went through to call on a member of the secretarial staff. Two and a half years later she became my wife. We were married for almost 51 years. The Lord sent me one of the most wonderful companions in the world and he took her away last year. I know if she could have been here she would have appreciated this hour very much, and I do, too."

"Thank you, Mr. President."

The President: "I am sure she is here right now."

Now, he doesn't want to talk about her with strangers. He shrugged off questions about the award scrolls and plaques, covering two walls of his office, which he has accumulated over the years. Never mind the Presidential Medal of Freedom presented to him "and seven other old guys."

Lawrence is a very private man.

And a busy one. He steps carefully now, not so big and vigorous as once, but he steps right along, aided and abetted by Obadiah William Person, his chauffeur of 27 years, who maneuvers the huge black Cadillac limousine through Washington traffic with a skill and abandon that would make any nut in a Volkswagen envious. The Cady does not have low-number license plates. It wouldn't occur to Lawrence to ask for them, although the President says Lawrence is the journalist he has known longest and best.

Out to the farm, roaring down Rt. 66 to the Centreville exit. Whipping past his lands and his pond and the Civil War earthworks. First stop, the wash house, to turn on the ticker. Paper jams. Damn machine won't work. Never mind.

Lawrence seems to be in a hurry, although he assures his interviewer he's not. The

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he passes in the cottage, everything he passes in the mill. He hasn't really lived at the farm since Mrs. Lawrence died.

## RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague from New Jersey (Mr. CASE) has raised for scrutiny by Congress and the public the question of covert funding by the Central Intelligence Agency of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He has proposed legislation to authorize public funding of these stations. His statements have been well covered by the press, and considerable information of potential value to Senators is contained in this group of articles, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 24, 1971]

### CASE WOULD BAN CIA AID FOR RADIO FREE EUROPE

(By Benjamin Welles)

WASHINGTON, January 23.—Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that the Central Intelligence Agency had spent several hundred million dollars over the last 20 years to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty functioning.

Mr. Case, a member of the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees, said that he would introduce legislation Monday to bring Government spending on the two stations under the authorization and appropriations process of Congress. Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, said today that he would introduce similar legislation in the House.

Radio Free Europe, founded in 1950, and Radio Liberty, formed a year later, both have powerful transmitters in Munich, West Germany, staffed by several thousand American technicians and refugees from Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty broadcasts only into the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe to other Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia.

Both organizations have offices in New York and purport to be privately endowed with funds coming exclusively from foundations, corporations and the public. Both, however, are extremely reticent about the details of their financing.

Senator Case noted in a statement that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions." However, he went on, "available sources indicate direct C.I.A. subsidies pay nearly all their costs."

The Senator said that the Central Intelligence Agency provided the stations with \$30-million in the last fiscal year without formal Congressional approval.

### DISCLOSURES RESTRICTED

Under the Central Intelligence Agency's operating rules, its activities—such as covert funding—are approved by the National Security Council. However, disclosure to Congress is limited to a handful of senior legislators on watchdog committees of each house.

The Central Intelligence Agency and Radio Free Europe both declined to comment today on Senator Case's statement. Efforts to elicit comment from Radio Liberty were unavailing.

Covert C.I.A. funding of the two stations has, however, been an open secret for years, although the C.I.A., in accordance with

FEBRUARY 10, 1971

STATINTL

JOHN  
CROWN

# Thank God for CIA

LAMENTABLY, it has become the accepted procedure and the "in" thing to attack the activities — real and imagined — of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Politicians who tire of that other popular sport — denigrating the Federal Bureau of Investigation — can always fall back on attributing all sorts of dark doings to the CIA.

One of our local worthies, in fact, has attributed his brilliant victory in a legal case to the fact that he implicated the CIA and, according to him, the case was dropped to avoid CIA embarrassment. That should be a landmark case for all aspiring lawyers. Get the CIA implicated and success is assured.

WITH THIS approach to the Central Intelligence Agency, the average citizen might well be forgiven if he gets the idea that the deadliest enemy facing the United States is something called the CIA. It is an organization that is often villified and rarely praised.

Yet if we did not have it — or something identical — our security and our world position would be in a sorry state, if indeed, we existed at all.

The Central Intelligence Agency came into being in 1947 during the Democratic administration of President Harry Truman. It came into being in recognition that the United States and the Soviet Union were the dominant powers in a world that was a jungle and would become progressively more so. No longer was the United States one of an assortment of seven or more "first rate" powers. As the leader of the Western world our global

responsibilities were awesome, as they still remain.

Therefore we could no longer blithely move about in such a world with such responsibilities in the naive hope that all would turn out well. No

*No longer can we go on the courtly premise that one gentleman doesn't read another gentleman's mail.*

longer could we go on the courtly premise that one gentleman doesn't read another gentleman's mail.

BEING AN open and free society, our operating a covert intelligence organization is not a welcome one to many of us. But it is a choice between being dainty and being realistic. Fortunately the choice was for realism and the Central Intelligence Agency was organized as an arm of government.

As noted earlier, there are those who find great rewards in attacking the CIA. They vary. There are those dreamy-eyed idealists who believe if we were to destroy all our weapons, the magnificent gesture of such an act would lead the remainder of the world to follow suit. At the other extreme there are those who find it to the interests they serve to keep both the CIA and the FBI under constant attack.

And in between those two extremes we have different individuals and different groups who are opposed in varying measures of intensity and for varying reasons to the existence of the CIA.

RECENTLY Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey saw fit to raise his arms in holy horror (or feignedly so) because the CIA was funding Radio Free Europe.

I fail to see the cause for alarm.

Consider the purpose of Radio Free Europe. Consider what it accomplishes. I can see a connection between it and the CIA — and justifiably so. And I can see where Radio Free Europe serves a larger purpose. Sen. Case must have been hard pushed to get a headline, and experience shows that any senator can get a headline by blasting the CIA.

Consider the plight of poor Teddy Kennedy. After exuding confidence and optimism that he would be re-elected Senate majority whip, the senator from Massachusetts went down in abject defeat. So how do you get a headline and divert attention from such ignominy?

You attack the CIA, that's how, and that is what Teddy did recently. With righteous anger (or feignedly so) he accused the CIA of diverting relief money for refugees in Laos to forces fighting the Communist invaders. Bravo!

BECAUSE the CIA of necessity engages in covert operations, it is relatively simple for politicians and lawyers to accuse the CIA of virtually anything they wish. For the CIA to either confirm or deny such accusations could place the organization in a dangerous position. Its operations are of such a delicate nature that it cannot afford to take public stands.

And for my part, I'm overjoyed we have the CIA. Thank God for it.

STATINTL

KNOXVILLE, TENN.  
JOURNAL

M - 66,978

FEB 10 1972

### Potomac Fever

Instead of using CIA money, why doesn't Radio Free Europe start accepting cigaret commercials?

There's no nerve gas among the 50,000 tons of old bombs the Navy wants to dump in the ocean, but plenty of nerve.

The Waldorf-Astoria didn't work out as a place for welfare clients to stay: Room service wouldn't accept food stamps.

The administration wants all employers to provide health insurance for their workers. That's another incentive to try to get a job.

Congress was warned that we're on the verge of a taxpayers' revolution: That's when you're hit so hard your head spins.

The FTC wants a phosphate warning printed on detergent boxes, but the manufacturers say no soap.

8 FEBRUARY 1971

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## The Place To Begin

In his State of the Union message, heralded by Attorney General Mitchell as "the most important document since they wrote the Constitution," President Nixon has trotted out that fine old perennial, the need to reform the federal bureaucracy in the name of efficiency and better management. The need is obvious but Mr. Nixon is unrealistic in his proposal to pare down the twelve present Cabinet Departments to eight. Such Departments as Labor, Transportation and Agriculture have powerful lobbies and vested interests behind them which are by no means all-Democratic or all-Republican in composition. One may applaud what Mr. Nixon says about the need for reorganization but question that he seriously believes his scheme is realistic from a practical political point of view.

But there is a special reason for doubting his *bona fides* about the reorganization proposal. The four Departments he proposes to leave untouched are Defense, State, Treasury and Justice. Forget Treasury and Justice for the moment. State is probably in greater need of reorganization than any Cabinet department, with the possible exception of the Department of Defense. State at least does little harm; it is simply otiose, but the Defense Department's recklessness, waste and duplicity are clear and present dangers. Closely related to State and Defense is that vast, sprawling conglomerate known as the Intelligence Establishment. It costs \$5 billion annually or more—no one can even approximate the amount, such is the jumble of obfuscation and duplication which it has achieved. The Bay of Pigs was merely an egregious instance of the blunders of which it is capable. The prisoners-of-war raid furnishes a recent example. It was conducted without effective liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency for reasons best known to military intelli-

gence. If the CIA had been closely consulted the operation might not have turned out any better, but the fact remains that its only role was that of a bystander. The latest offense of Army Intelligence—spying on civilians—is merely a prize illustration of the need for close supervision and control of the entire intelligence establishment. No one seems to be able to ride herd on this vast scattered and uncoordinated bureaucracy. For example, no one seems to know quite how military intelligence got into the business of spying on civilians. If anyone has a chance of coping with the intelligence establishment it is the President. Executive orders, not new legislation, would be all that was needed to achieve a greater measure of efficiency and economy.

Here is one specific illustration. Sen. Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) reveals that the CIA has spent several hundred million dollars to keep those two cold-war monstrosities, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, broadcasting from Munich, ostensibly bringing vital information to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. Both organizations masquerade as private bodies and appeal for public donations. The Advertising Council lends a hand by securing free media time valued at between \$12 million and \$20 million in order to bring in a paltry \$100,000 in public contributions. At the same time the myth is sedulously cultivated that both organizations are sustained by large corporate donations. The fact is, of course, that the CIA comes across with \$30 million a year. The President could, if he would, put a stop to this expensive deception.

Even the intelligence bureaucrats are somewhat appalled by the present situation. "Trying to draw up an organization chart is a nightmare," one senior aide is quoted as saying. "No one person seems to be in charge. . . . Whoever winds up running this thing is clearly going to have to be someone with the President's confidence." Here, clearly, is the place for the President to apply his zeal for bureaucratic reform and managerial reorganization.

## Radio Free Europe

To millions of eager listeners behind Europe's Iron Curtain, the Munich-based organization of Radio Free Europe for twenty years has been a steady source of precisely the kind of news East Europe's Communist leaders do their best to suppress. (A similar station, Radio Liberty, broadcasts to the Soviet Union.) Not surprisingly, the men who run RFE have come to measure the effectiveness of the job they are doing in terms of the Communist governments' efforts to silence them. These have included strident propaganda counterattacks, the expenditure of staggering sums on equipment and power to jam RFE's broadcasts, plus twenty years of unrelenting attempts to achieve the same goal through diplomatic pressure. Last year, when he visited both Warsaw and Moscow to sign non-aggression treaties, Chancellor Willy Brandt was approached by Polish and Soviet officials urging him to kick RFE and Radio Liberty out of West Germany.

However Brandt may feel about foreign broadcasting operations on German soil, he has held firm against the Communist protests. But then last week, U.S. Sen. Clifford Case inserted a new element that presented the Communists with further ammunition to use in their attacks on RFE.

**Scrutiny:** What Case did was to single out RFE for special attention as he introduced legislation aimed at bringing all foreign commitments under Congressional scrutiny. His action thus served to bolster the long-standing Communist contention that RFE is not at all the purely private organization it pretends to be, but is in fact funded largely by the Central Intelligence Agency. Case insisted that his proposal could have no bearing on European politics. "The West German Government knew what was going on," he said. "The East European governments knew what was going on. The American Government knew what was going on. There is no real change except now the American people know what is going on."

This assertion, however, may have been only partially valid. Though most knowledgeable observers have long assumed that RFE is at least partially funded by Washington, so long as there was no official confirmation of this assumption, Brandt had at least a fig leaf of verisimilitude as protection. Now, after

Case's remarks, Brandt may be increasingly hard put to defend his position. One top-level German official summed up his appraisal of the effect of Case's charge by saying: "RFE is finished in Germany."

This may prove to be too dire a prediction, but there was also no denying the fact that if it should prove true, the results would be a major blow to many in Eastern and Western Europe alike. This is because RFE offers its listeners not only news from the West, but also home-country news that the local press is forbidden to print. It carried to East Europeans the transcript of Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin; it reported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia to the Czechs; and last December RFE reporters broadcast news of



RFE fund-raising ad: Turned off?

the strike-torn city of Gdansk back into Poland. Radio Liberty currently beams to the Soviet Union the large number of protests by Russian dissenters that are available there only in underground documents. Furthermore, the files and staffs of émigré intellectuals and journalists employed by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty serve also as an invaluable source of information about East Europe for Western newsmen, scholars and officials.

But though Communist pressures on Brandt to cancel RFE's lease now seem likely to increase, his resistance will be bolstered not only by the U.S. Government but by the personal concern of President Nixon himself. Mr. Nixon remembers that only RFE broadcast details of his 1959 visit to Warsaw, and that as a result, some 250,000 cheering Poles turned out to greet him. Recently a Presidential aide passed through Munich and left an unambiguous message. "In the President's view," said the assistant, "the presence of Radio Free Europe in Munich is almost a precondition for retaining our troops in Germany."

STATINTL

7 Feb 1971

STATINTL

# Critical Static Growing Over Radio Free Europe

By EDWARD HIGGINS

Newark News Staff Writer

Munich

Sen. Clifford P. Case of New Jersey recently said he would propose legislation to bring the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the congressional appropriations process.

The legislation may be a case of too little and too late since public opinion and the requirement of West Germany's Ostpolitik will probably put both stations out of business next year.

It has been an open secret that both stations, long a part of the Munich international community, have been operating as fronts for the Central Intelligence Agency. As a result, they drew criticism from both sides of the Atlantic.

During his administration former President Johnson appointed the then Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach to head a special committee to deal with the problem of funding the broadcasting agencies.

## Recommended Change

The committee's recommendation was that the stations cease advertising as private non-profit organizations seeking public support. In fact the amount donated by the public covered only a small part of the financing required to operate the Munich studio and transmitters in Munich, Heidelberg and Lisbon.

Case has charged that more than \$30 million was provided the station by the CIA in the

last year alone and that over the last 20 years several hundred million was provided, all without congressional approval.

There has never been an official admission that the stations are supported by the CIA but Case said his investigation convinced him that the charges are true.

In West Germany the stations are considered not worth the trouble. Chancellor Willy Brandt put it quite simply several months ago: "It is nonsense that 25 years after the end of the war foreign countries are still using the Bundesrepublik to send out propaganda."

## Boycott Rumored

Brandt also has found that one of the last minute requests by the Eastern bloc is that the stations be discontinued. There also have been reports that many Eastern European countries will boycott the 1972 Olympics in Munich if the stations are still operating.

Both stations operate on a renewable one-year contract which can be dissolved with a 90-day notice. The license was renewed for 1971 with the understanding that Germany and the United States would resolve the matter at the diplomatic level.

Case's proposed legislation, which would amend the U.S. Information and Education Act to authorize funds for the stations and prohibit diversion of other federal funds, might destroy the intelligence value of the stations.

With the intelligence functions reduced the presence of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty might be acceptable to Eastern Europe and to the United States supporters of the stations. If the stations do cease to be intelligence fronts the United States would have some arguments at the diplomatic table to allow them to continue operating.

## Broadcast Areas

Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania. Radio Liberty, started up with a staff of Russian refugees after the death of Stalin in 1953, broadcasts its programs in 17 different languages to the Soviet Union.

Since 1956, when Radio Free Europe encouraged the Hungarian revolt, the station has kept away from any appeals for overthrowing governments and concentrated on advocating a peaceful liberalization of Communist regimes.

The memory of that revolt is still alive in West Germany, however, and reports in the German press indicate that the only acceptable solution is to remove both broadcasting operations from West German soil.

Many of Nixon's supporters are also supporters of Radio Free Europe and might consider the discontinuance of the broadcasts as being "soft" on communism. One solution, it has been suggested, would be to openly finance the propaganda functions of the stations and relocate them in a more receptive country.



6 FEBRUARY 1971

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*"One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln stood on a battlefield and spoke of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Too often since then, we have become a nation of the Government; by the Government and for the Government."*

— Richard Nixon, January 22

How true. How often the government not only neglects to ask the people whether it may, but doesn't tell them when it does. We were reminded of that again last week by Sen. Clifford P. Case's legislative proposal to cut Radio Free Europe free from CIA funds, something most of us thought the Katzenbach Committee had accomplished in 1967. President Johnson publicly accepted that report's recommendation that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations," and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy." So that was that, and we turned to other things. But CIA still subsidizes the allegedly private Radio Free Europe. Or have we been deceived into thinking it is private by all those ads? Apparently so. In response to Senator Case, the State Department's Robert McCloskey says that RFE is "not an educational or private voluntary organization," and so the restrictions against secret funding do not apply. Then it is a governmental organization, in which case why have we not been told, and why is its budget not debated by the appropriators of public funds? Actually, the CIA is the conduit of "unvouchered funds," a handy device allowed by Congress in the National Security Act of 1947. A review of that Act would be a good place to start if Senator Case believes Congress and the people should be cut in on what's going on.

Secret bureaucracies have a life of their own. A case in point is the CIA Meo operation, the "clandestine army" of at least 25,000 men, which in less hectic days played cat's paw with the Communists in the hills of Laos and did a little inconsequential spying on the rugged, unmarked China border. What these wretched bands of Meos are to discover of military significance that cannot be learned by satellite is something that has never been explained.

Subterfuge on a much more dangerous level goes on in Cambodia. Secretary Rogers assures us that there are no US ground troops there. But, says the Department of Defense, the Green Berets are right over the border in Thailand and in South Vietnam. Doing what? Training Cambodian troops. And in Cambodia? Jerry W. Friedheim, the Pentagon spokesman, states that American Embassy personnel in Phnompenh are helping the Cambodians get acquainted with new American military equipment, to show them "where the on and off buttons are." No troops, just "military delivery teams," and helicopters over the tree tops:

STATINTL



CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

COURIER

FEB 3 1971

E - 30,013

S - 30,611

## CIA hand out again?

To the Editor:

Sir: In recent weeks, it has become quite apparent that a local television station is engaging in a saturation campaign for Radio Free Europe.

For years now, since RFE was revealed as nothing more than the East European propaganda outlet of the CIA, such pitches have been muted and rather infrequent. Now that relations between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. appear to be souring, however, there seems to be a return to cold war rhetoric, including high pressure pitches for the CIA's Radio Free Europe.

I think it is obvious that the CIA gets more than enough of the taxpayer's money through clandestine sources to conduct its campaign of hatred. It does not need the meager savings of well-meaning and unsuspecting citizens who may be duped by clever commercials such as those telecast over Channel 3.

Why is this station so eager to give free air time to the CIA for telecasts of these public disservice messages? What do the call letters WCIA really stand for?

BURT LAWRENCE

Champaign

FRESNO, CAL.  
BEE

FEB 3 1971

E - 110,294  
S - 142,020

STATINTL

## The CIA Turns Radio Sponsor

The American public may have become too jaded by previous Central Intelligence Agency antics to get very excited about anything new uncovered about its freewheeling operations. Few seem surprised by disclosures by US Sen. Clifford Case, R-NJ, that Radio Free Europe has had most of its bills paid over the last 20 years, not by the private sponsors claimed for it, but the CIA, which has been using Radio Free Europe and the lesser known Radio Liberty as propaganda arms promoting an independent foreign policy.

Yet, besides showing another reason for Congress to take a far less permissive attitude towards the CIA and clip its wings when it assumes policy-making powers, Case's disclosures also point up the declining role of the US State Department. Many of the basic policy decisions which should be developed by the department are being made outside its halls by the Defense Department, the CIA,

the White House staff and even the US Information Agency.

An extensive study by the New York Times makes it clear the department itself must bear a large share of the blame for its continuing decline. Its decision-making machinery moves ponderously when it moves at all. The department often fails to respond to problems in time to do any good. Under both Democratic and Republican presidents, other governmental organizations prove all too eager to move into the vacuum created by the State Department's inability to act.

This results in a confusion of efforts to develop a coherent, unified policy. It hides the responsibility for decisions. Most dangerous of all, it gives undue power to the military establishment and the CIA's cloak-and-dagger bureaucrats. The best way to counteract this ominous trend is intensify efforts to revitalize the State Department and turn it into an effective organization again.

ATLANTA, GA.  
JOURNAL  
E - 257,863  
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION  
S - 536,497

FEB 1 1974

## ANOTHER CIA FRONT

# Radio Free Europe Isn't Free

By CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER

EVERY REGULAR bus rider has seen the car card advertisements of Radio Free Europe. The latest is a young boy whose forehead is wrapped in heavy chains. "He needs a mind of his own," the card proclaims. "He needs the facts, news, world opinion."



Now, everyone agrees that Eastern Europe needs facts and opinion to help counter-balance the continuing Niagara of government propaganda to which its people are exposed. It is equally true that Americans need the facts about Radio Free Europe. Hopefully, that truth is now unfolding.

SINCE the first frost of the "Cold War", we have been told that Radio Free Europe is a privately supported, nongovernmental activity, whose existence depends upon individual contributions. The Advertising Council, which sponsors the car cards, provides an estimated \$15 million annually in media space which is used to solicit funds. And Radio Free Europe, with executive offices in New York, transmitters in Munich, and several thousand employees, keeps beaming "the facts, news, world opinion" into Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, Radio Free Europe has never disclosed the facts to Americans. For it is not free at all. Instead, it costs the American taxpayers \$30 million dollars a year—all funneled through the labyrinthine channels of the Central Intelligence Agency. Private contributions—upon which it supposedly depends—make up about 3 per cent of its budget.

THESE disclosures came in Senate Appropriations hearings. They are shocking because of the blatant hoodwinking which has gone on now for more than 20 years, but they are not really surprising.

Four years ago it was discovered that CIA funds had been routed into the National Student Association through a series of fake "foundations." The hue and cry of that disclosure resulted in adoption of a policy that "no federal agency shall provide covert support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations."

Radio Free Europe, theoretically both educational and voluntary, has consumed possibly \$100 million in CIA money since President Johnson approved that policy four years ago.

NSA and RFE are only two CIA covers which have been blown. What is deeply disturbing is the unknown mass which is yet below the surface.

What other organizations

are CIA fronts? And what unknown deeds are performed in the name of and at the expense of the American people?

Lord Acton said that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Secret power—unchecked, unknown, and unaccounted for—is surely the most corrupting force in any society.

WHOEVER can penetrate the marble fastness of CIA headquarters at Langley, Va. (mis-labeled "Bureau of Public Roads") see carved in the lintels of the lobby, "You shall know the truth and the truth will make you free."

May the day come when that script is headed by the Central Intelligence Agency. The United States is come of age. It is time we put aside childish things.

# Reds Exploit Radio Free Europe Fund

## Reported Involvement Of CIA Is Given Wide Coverage

By JOSEPH R. L. STERNE  
Bonn Bureau of The Sun

Bonn, Jan. 31—Communist news media are gleefully picking up Senator Clifford P. Case's proposal that there be open congressional financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

They also are giving wide coverage to the New Jersey Republican's disclosure a week ago that the Central Intelligence Agency has been channeling about \$30 million a year to the Munich-based stations.

Although the Soviet bloc is not happy that Mr. Case wants broadcasting to continue behind the Iron Curtain, its information outlets are expected to use Capitol Hill hearings on the subject as a new means of pressuring West Germany to close down the 20-year-old stations.

### Lose... Fig Leaves

The Washington correspondent of the Polish news agency predicted Friday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are about "to lose their fig leaves" through worldwide publicity.

A day earlier, Radio Warsaw paraphrased Senator Case's comments about reduced international tension and said it is time to liquidate operations which "do not not presently help Polish-West German relations."

Officially, Chancellor Willy Brandt's government has taken

the position that the financing of the two broadcasting units is an internal American affair. Despite speculation to the contrary, it is said that Bonn authorities have no present plans to ask the stations to move.

### Bonn Embarrassed

Nevertheless, the pro-government Frankfurter Rundschau reported Thursday that Bonn circles were embarrassed by the congressional disclosures of CIA financing, an issue likely to figure in future decisions on the renewal of year-to-year leases.

At Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich, it is expected that Communist attacks will crescendo as the midyear lease renewal dates draw closer—especially if congressional hearings develop.

But perhaps a more important date is August, 1972, when the Olympic Games will be held in Munich. Warnings of a possible boycott already have been heard from many Soviet bloc countries unless Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are muzzled during the Olympics.

### Regular Targets

Because the Munich-based news, commentary and music broadcasts are so popular in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria, the two stations have been a regular Communist propaganda target for years.

Until Mr. Brandt took office, they were depicted as instruments both of United States imperialism and West German revanchism.

But since the government change in Bonn fifteen months ago, the Communist line has altered. Now, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty tend to be treated strictly as American operations that Mr. Brandt should silence as a part of his efforts for European detente.

The Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Hirlap*, said: "While West Germany's government proclaims a policy opening to the East, it admits organizations operating with large apparatuses, hindering the development of a favorable atmosphere necessary to the expansion of this policy."

### Bulgarian Reaction

ed to last summer's Bonn announcement that the yearly leases would be renewed by re-

"This categorical explanation is welcomed with satisfaction by all who want the continuity of the cold war and are against the international detente."

The Soviet Union's *Komsomolskaya Pravda* put it this way last September:

"Having settled down on foreign territory, the American radio stations poison the atmosphere in Europe and prevent the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding. This is felt especially now, with conditions of detente growing in Europe."

At the sprawling white building in Munich which is Radio Free Europe's headquarters, Communist hypersensitivity is considered proof of how much its information is needed and appreciated behind the Iron Curtain.

During the December worker riots in Poland, as was the case with Eastern European crises in the past, the number of listeners pushed toward record highs.

Like other Western news organizations, Radio Free Europe had to rely for days on scrappy, sometimes second- and third-hand reports from Scandinavian correspondents who were able to get into northern Poland without visas.

When at last the situation settled down and Western correspondents were admitted to cities like Gdansk and Gdynia, Polish officials bitterly complained at what they called Radio Free Europe's exaggerated accounts of the "December events."

The idea that a more open information policy would have given all Western news media a basis for sounder reporting was an aspect of the question only meagerly considered by the Communist authorities.

### More Benign View

The Polish information apparatus lashed out at Radio Free Europe during the early days of the worker protests, saying it was inciting "rowdiness... vandalism and banditry." Only after Edward Giersek replaced Wladyslaw Gomulka as Communist party chief was a more benign view of the protesters presented, a development which caused a momentary slackening in the attacks on Radio Free Europe.

But with congressional hearings in prospect, the Poles again are stepping up the tempo.

## Disclosures

Radio Warsaw commented that if the two stations receive regular budget appropriations in Washington, "the United States government will not be able to say it has no influence over the programs and will have to bear responsibility for both stations."

Actually, CIA financing of the two stations has been a poorly kept secret for years—one aired by the Communists and silently ignored by American authorities.

### Presence Welcomed

Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, and Radio Free Europe, which beams to Eastern Europe, both were started when the cold war was at its chilliest and the East-West confrontation etched in its sharpest outlines.

West Germany, then a brand new political entity, welcomed their presence on its soil and permitted the construction of powerful monitoring and broadcasting facilities in the area around Munich.

Radio Free Europe's controversial role during the ill-fated 1956 Hungarian uprising, when it was widely accused of arousing false hopes of Western help, caused an agonizing reappraisal of the organization's style and output.

The result was a gradual increase in the objectivity of its news dispatches, and in the balance of its commentaries. Studies and analyses by its research department became steadily more respected in academic and journalistic circles.

### Controversy Assured

Nevertheless, the very nature of the organization, with its working force of hundreds of exiles from Eastern Europe, guaranteed that it would remain controversial.

To date, the Brandt government has shown no eagerness to strain its already awkward relationship with Washington by forcing the Munich stations to move from West German soil.

But there is a feeling within the Radio Free Europe organization that the pressures on Bonn are bound to increase, especially in connection with the hearings in Washington.

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## Central Intelligence Agency

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### Congressional

Radio funding: Sen. Case, R-N.J., introduced legislation (S 18) Jan. 25 to make public the appropriation of government funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He said the two radio stations which broadcast to Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, received in fiscal 1970 \$30 million or nearly all their income in direct CIA subsidies and hundreds of millions from the agency in the last 20 years.

STATINTL

STATINTL

GREENSBORO, N.C.

RECORD

JAN 29 1971

E - 33,470

## The CIA Intrusion Raises A Question Of Credibility

It is probable that the greatest asset (certainly the most persuasive) of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has been the belief of listeners behind the Iron Curtain that they were receiving information from men, unlike them, unfettered.

Certainly the independence of those radio outlets has been their selling point in soliciting private funds. That those funds have not been lavish -- perhaps less than \$100,000 from the public and about \$4 million from corporations and foundations in 1969 -- does not render the value of independence negligible. The media would not have donated \$12 million to \$20 million in free space annually to assist a cause not considered independent.

On both sides of that Iron Curtain free men need to pierce, Senator Clifford Case's information will come as a jolt -- perhaps one fatal to both the broadcasting units. For even the senator's remedy -- although infinitely better than the disease he diagnoses -- may not be sure-fire.

Honest government subsidy is preferable, of course, to covert government subsidy. But what need, the disillusioned may well ask, for more government channels when there exists the Voice of America?

It is Senator Case -- no casual muck-raker -- who testifies that at least \$30 million of the \$34 million needed by the two "independent" stations in 1969 came from the Central Intelligence Agency. Furthermore, he says, "during the past 20 years several hundred million dollars in U.S. government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe".

It is not the senator's purpose to shut down the two stations. He believes they

are worth keeping -- but only if they are open in their relationship to the government and if the Congress -- a better adviser on foreign policy than the espionage establishment -- exercises its normal authorization and appropriation controls. Senator Case would provide the stations with an initial outlay of \$30 million and amend the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to prohibit the use of any other government funds.

Assuming that the stations are now worth saving, that is certainly the right approach. Still applicable is the recommendation of a presidential committee that in 1967 investigated CIA funding of the National Student Association: "No federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational and voluntary organizations".

The committee report was not meant to be filed and forgotten. President Lyndon Johnson directed that federal agencies follow the recommendation.

That the CIA ignored the advice does not mean that there is any Machiavellian plot behind its radio financing. It does mean that there will arise suspicion of Machiavellian plot among those people to whom messages about "liberty" and a "free Europe" are beamed. The suspicion, in this instance, is almost as damaging as the proof.

That in mind, the Congress should not overlong debate the wisdom of overt U.S.A. versus covert CIA control. Siding with Senator Case in that unhappy choice, legislators should move on to consider the worth of any fettered medium's advertisement of freedom.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.  
JOURNAL

M - 66,673  
S - 209,501

JAN 28 1971

## Challenge to the CIA

Two liberal Republicans in Congress have rushed in where others fear to tread and impaled an issue that has dangled much too long. Not since the Central Intelligence Agency was brought on the carpet four years ago for secretly funding the National Student Association have the CIA's covert activities been seriously challenged.

Sen. Clifford P. Case of New Jersey and Rep. Ogden R. Reid of New York are introducing bills in their respective chambers to end the annual multi-million-dollar funding of radio broadcasting facilities abroad without the express consent of Congress.

Senator Case charged that the CIA channeled hundreds of millions of dollars to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty over the last 20 years and that the bulk of the stations' combined budgets "or more than 30 million annually, comes from direct CIA subsidies."

Ironically, the Johnson administration moved to curtail such CIA operations soon after the National Student Association disclosures in 1967. A special committee was set up to study the matter and the President accepted its recommendations that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy."

Exceptions were made, however, and that is what concerns Senator Case and Congressman Reid.

The stations—transmitting from Munich, West Germany, to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—claim independent, non-governmental status. They solicit contributions from private groups and individuals on that basis though evidence indicates that less than \$100,000 a year is raised from that source.

Established at the height of the Cold War in the early 1950s, these stations obviously are engaged in the same activities as the Voice of America and the U.S. Information Agency whose purse strings are held by Congress. Clearly, it should be up to Congress, not the CIA to decide whether their functions remain valid and, if so, to what degree govern-

ment support is warranted. Clearly, there are no grounds for exemptions from the 1967 policy. Any aid from the federal treasury ought to be provided through normal authorization and appropriation procedures.

Americans reluctantly grant the CIA its special status on the basis of national security. Undercover operations are an inescapable function of modern international relations. But exclusions from the public's right to know and other tenets of democratic constitutional government are and ought to be dispensed with utmost restraint. The American public recoiled from the unconscionable use of students as propaganda stooges. It is hard to see how the covert backing of supposedly independent broadcast facilities is on much higher ground.

ST. LOUIS, MO.  
POST-DISPATCH

E - 333,224  
S - 558,018

~~JAN 20 1971~~

STATINTL

### *Those Phony Radios*

It has not been much of a secret in recent years that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both claiming to be operated with private funds, are in fact tools of the Central Intelligence Agency. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to eastern European countries except Yugoslavia and Radio Liberty to the Soviet Union. Presumably the CIA thinks the propaganda value of their transmissions is enhanced by the fiction that they are supported by the people rather than the Government of the United States.

This false front ought to be dropped, and Senator Case of New Jersey is to be commended for moving to bring government spending on the two projects under the authorization and appropriation process. In this way the stations would be identified truthfully as propaganda agencies of the United States and required to justify their programs. Their operations are extensive. Both have transmitters in Munich and employ several thousand American technicians and refugees from eastern Europe.

Mr. Case says the combined operating budget of the two stations amounts to more than \$30,000,000 a year, nearly all paid directly by the CIA. He notes that Radio Free Europe conducts an annual campaign for public contributions under the auspices of the Advertising Council, and that between \$12,000,000 and \$20,000,000 in free media space is donated each year to the campaign. But the return from the public, Mr. Case says, is apparently less than \$100,000 a year.

This cynical fraud ought to stop. As Mr. Case notes, there may have been some excuse for the falsification for a year or two in an emergency situation, but this has been going on for 20 years. It is a product of the cold war and it tends to keep the cold war alive. We suspect the stations could be closed down to the benefit of all concerned (except the employees), but if there is any justification for their continued operation they could, under Mr. Case's plan, make their case before Congress.



28 JAN 1971  
To: [redacted]  
Did CIA

back RFE

programs?

By ROBERT CRATER

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Radio Free Europe is continuing to beam broadcasts into communist East Europe, outwardly undismayed by claims that the Central Intelligence Agency puts up much of the cash.

"No comment," said Alan Hovey, RFE spokesman in New York, when pressed for CIA funding details.

Mr. Hovey says RFE's annual broadcast budget is \$18 million. But Sen. Clifford Case, R-N.J., says that RFE and Radio Liberty together got \$30 million from the CIA in 1969. Radio Liberty is beamed into Soviet Russia.

#### BOTHER

Ralph Walter, a native of Minnesota, is RFE's director. He argues that the millions who tune in to the broadcasts wouldn't bother if they didn't believe what they heard.

Mr. Walter says RFE's goal is to work itself out of business by encouraging the communists to give their people balanced news. Mr. Hovey says there is no indication that this is happening.

Senator Case's allegations are reviving old suspicions, mainly that RFE can't be fair if it is getting most of its funds from the CIA.

But RFE employees claim they don't know where the money is coming from, and care less.

#### BUILDING

RFE once solicited funds from Americans. Mr. Hovey says U.S. corporations are footing the bill now. He notes that General Motors Chairman James Roche is head of RFE Fund, Inc.

Meanwhile, 1,000 of RFE's employees toil in a modern building in Munich. They broadcast 20 hours a day to Czechoslovakia, 19 hours to Poland and Hungary, 12 to Roumania and 7.5 to Bulgaria.

Communists jam some of the five channels used by RFE, concentrating their efforts on the most popular channels among visitors from Eastern Europe. It indicates 30 million listen to the RFE mes-

STATINTL

HARTFORD, CONN.

TIMES

JAN 26 1971

E &amp; S - 135,812

## The CIA crops up again

Conspiratorial government is not America's dish. The country was properly shocked when it learned, four years ago, that the Central Intelligence Agency was pouring money into student associations, and subsidizing a broad range of private agencies in education, law, religion, journalism, and labor.

President Johnson and the top members of his administration professed to be shocked, too. They issued a solemn promise to stop such practices.

But — in at least the case of Radio Free Europe — the promise wasn't kept.

IT WAS DISCLOSED the other day that, over the past few years, millions of dollars have been given to Radio Free Europe by the CIA. Once again we are made to wonder how much faith to put in the promises of our government.

Radio Free Europe has been sold to the American people as a completely private agency, speaking in no way for our government. It has always solicited funds on this basis.

And — on that basis — it has used its powerful broadcast facilities to beam a powerful mixture of entertainment, educational features,

and pure propaganda to listeners in Eastern Europe.

The question must now be raised as to whether the CIA actually stopped paying a number of other organizations to serve as secret fronts for international snooping and trouble-making.

If the funding of Radio Free Europe was never halted — as we were told it would be — what about the CIA's reported funding of the other groups listed in the scandal of 1967?

Are we still giving CIA money to "research" projects at Stanford? Or to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers? Or the National Council of Churches, the National Educational Association, the American Newspaper Guild, or the African American Institute?

HAS THE CIA, indeed, continued its policy of using the very agencies that bespeak the openness of American society to carry out the kind of missions one might expect in the tightest of police states?

In the last round, the orders from the President were evidently ignored. The full report promised to the White House was, too.

This time Congress had better find out what the CIA is doing.

THE SMALL SOCIETY

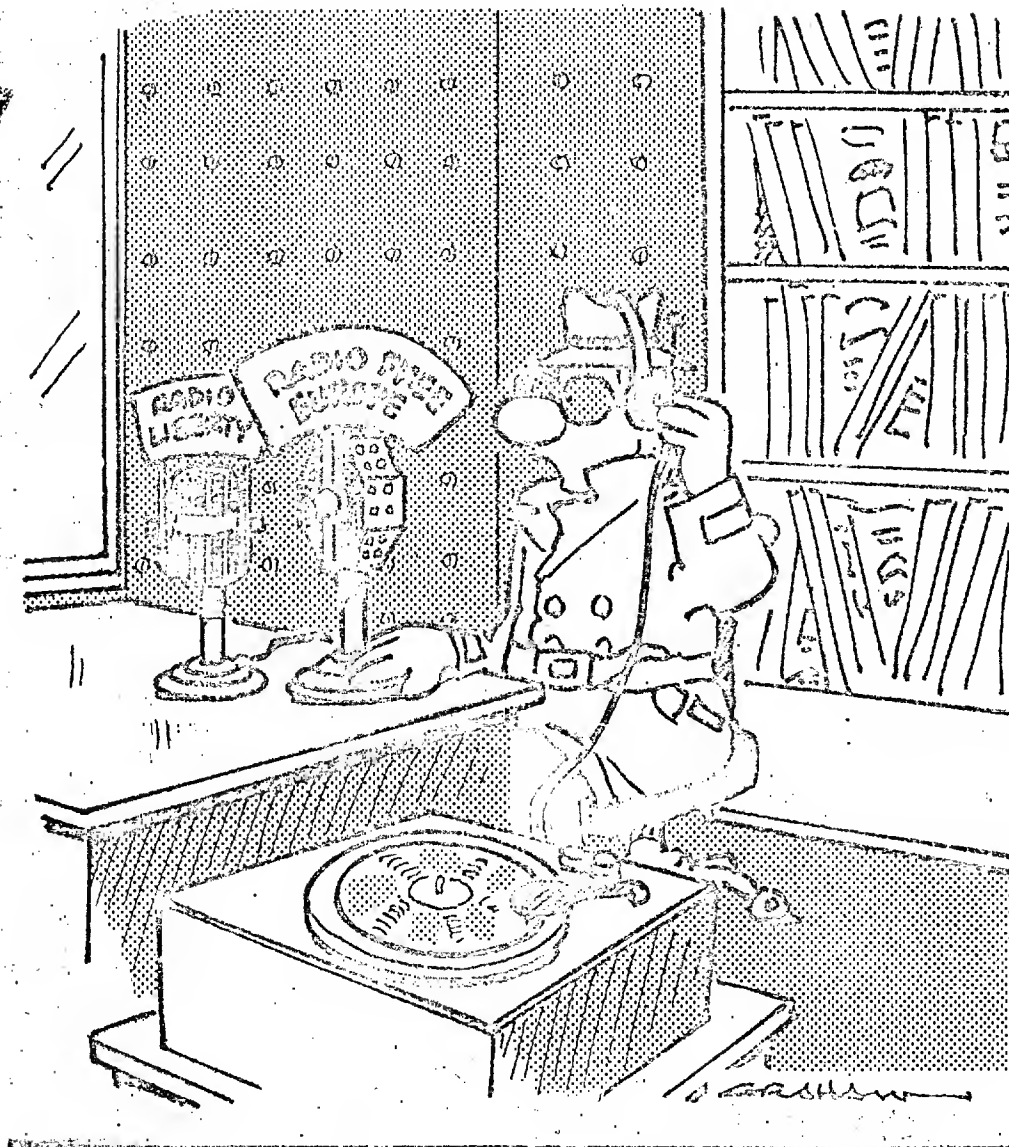
STATINTL

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.  
GAZETTE

M - 108,821  
S - 124,741

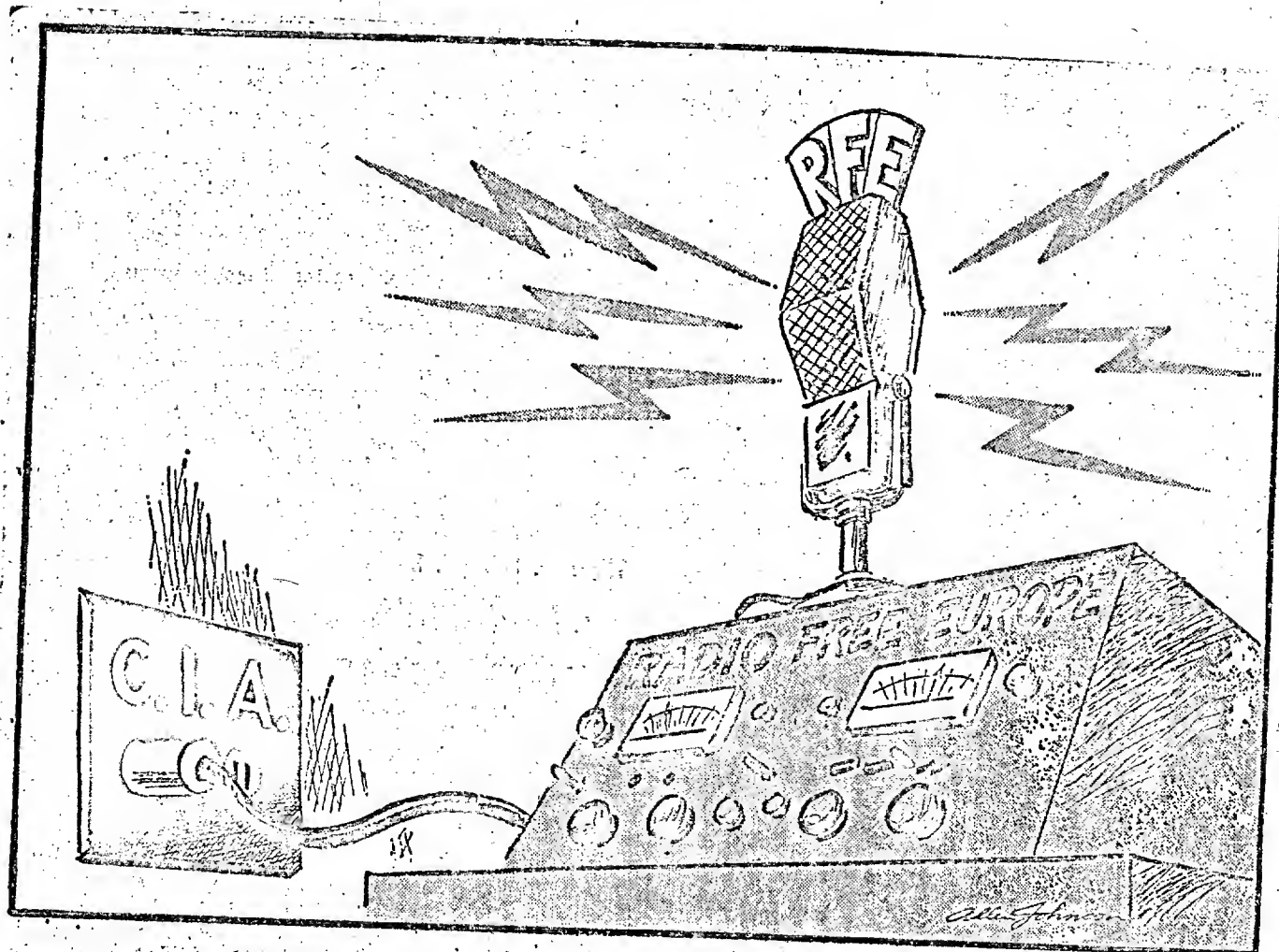
JAN 20 1977

"—This Is Station C.I.A.,  
30,000,000\$\$ on the Dial—"



M - 66,673  
S - 209,501

JAN 26 1971



Source of power

E140

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks January 26, 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100110001-0

[From the New York Times, Dec. 18, 1970]

A CASE OF SUPPRESSION  
(By Julius Epstein)

Doing research on forced repatriation of anti-Communist prisoners of war and displaced persons during and after World War II, I discovered early in 1954 in the Army's Historical Records Branch in Alexandria, Va., an index card marked "Forcible Repatriation of Displaced Soviet Citizens—Operation Keelhaul—333-7-14."

When I asked for the dossier, I was told that it was Top Secret and that the index card should not be in a public catalogue. It was immediately removed. Since then, I have tried to have the "Operation Keelhaul" files de-classified and released.

What does "keelhaul" mean? According to Webster, Second Edition, "keelhaul" means: "To haul under the keel of a ship, either atwharftships or from bow to stern by ropes attached to the yardarms on each side. It was formerly a punishment in the Dutch and British Navies and a method of torture used by pirates." The Army chose "Operation Keelhaul" as the code-name for a collection of documents dealing with the forcible repatriation of millions of anti-Communists to Stalin's Soviet Union.

Through my study I became convinced that forced repatriation, as carried out by the American and British military authorities, was a violation of the Geneva convention of 1929.

That forced repatriation of anti-Communists to Stalin's slave labor camps was in violation of international law as well as in violation of the American tradition of asylum for political exiles can be documented by statements made by President Eisenhower, General Marshall, Dean Acheson and many others.

To give just one example: When the North Koreans demanded forced repatriation of North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war, Acheson said in his speech before the United Nations Oct. 24, 1954: "It was quite unthinkable to the United Nations Command that it should use force to drive into the hands of the Communists, people who would be resisting that effort by force. Finally, they say that the Geneva Convention and international practice require this forcible repatriation. We, on the other hand, have said that we have lived up to the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Convention."

Soon after the "Freedom of Information Act" went into force on July 4, 1967, I filed a lawsuit against Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor for release of "Operation Keelhaul." Congressman John E. Moss declared in a sworn affidavit that it was the intent of Congress to give the courts the "broadest latitude" in examining secret documents—in camera—in order to find out whether they have been properly classified.

If the judge finds that disclosure would not endanger foreign policy or national defense, he has the duty to enjoin the government agency from withholding the documents. Although it was clear that the Keelhaul documents could never endanger American foreign policy or national security, the courts found that they had not the power to subpoena the documents and that classification was "appropriate." How they could decide that classification of about 300 documents was appropriate without having seen a single one, is hard to explain.

The Supreme Court denied my petition for a writ of certiorari. The only justice in favor of granting certiorari was Justice Douglas. Since the courts declared the "Freedom of Information Act" a dead letter, Congress will have to amend the act in order to revive it.

On Oct. 22, 1970, the White House informed me that President Nixon has removed the main obstacle for declassification of the Keelhaul files. The letter states: "The U.S. Government has absolutely no objections (based

on the contents of the files) to the declassification and release of the 'Operation Keelhaul' files. However, given the joint origin of the documents, British concurrence is necessary before they can be released and this concurrence has not been received. Thus, we have no alternative but to deny your request."

Since the Keelhaul files contain many purely American documents, classified by American military authorities, I hope that I shall still succeed in persuading the Administration that these American documents should be released. If this should finally be denied, it would amount to the admission that a foreign government has still the power to prevent the American people from learning their own history based on American evidence.

FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS  
REVISITED

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an outstanding series of seven articles on the American foreign policy machinery under President Nixon. The articles appeared in the New York Times of January 18-24, 1971.

I recommend them to my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1970]

FOREIGN POLICY: DECISION POWER EBBING AT

THE STATE DEPARTMENT

(By Terence Smith)

WASHINGTON.—The Department of State, once the proud and undisputed steward of foreign policy, has finally acknowledged what others have long been saying: That it is no longer in charge of the United States' foreign affairs and that it cannot reasonably expect to be so again.

By its own admission as well as the testimony of its critics, the department has been losing ground in the bureaucracy for a generation. In the opinion of many people in the department and outside, the erosion has accelerated sharply during the first two years of the Nixon Administration.

As President Nixon pledged during his campaign, he has gathered more and more of the business of foreign affairs in the White House. He has taken a personal hand in both the broad scope and mechanical details of foreign policy, from proclaiming the Nixon Doctrine on the American stance abroad to composing the Government's official condolences to France on the death of de Gaulle.

The centralization of the formulation of foreign policy in the White House has been a characteristic of the nuclear age, when the issues have become so complex and the consequences of error so grave. It has, in fact, been the pattern since the days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Particularly strong Secretaries of State arrested the trend during the Truman and Eisenhower years, but since the death of John Foster Dulles in 1959, Presidents have dominated the foreign-policy scene.

The centralization has been most striking under President Nixon, who regards foreign affairs as his field of special competence. His detailed personal involvement has often been at the expense of the State Department. The 1970 message on the state of the world was a case in point.

The idea for a major year-end summary of the Administration's view of the world situation originated, with some prompting from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at

the State Department. Secretary of State William P. Rogers planned to deliver it himself at the end of 1969.

Each geographic bureau was called upon to submit material. The project generated considerable enthusiasm because it presented one of those rare opportunities for people at the working level to play a direct role in phrasing the nation's public position.

ROGERS THEM WAS ABSENT

Before the compilation was finished the White House staff learned of the project, saw the possibilities in it for Mr. Nixon and pre-empted the idea. The department's draft was then turned over to the national-security staff, which wrote an expanded 40,000-word version for release under the President's name.

When Mr. Nixon signed the document in a White House ceremony last February, Henry A. Kissinger, his special assistant for national-security affairs, stood at his side, flanked by others on the White House staff. No State Department representative was present; Secretary Rogers and his aides were in the Ghanaian capital, Accra, at the time—about as far out in left field as they could be.

"The whole incident rankled," an assistant to the Secretary recalled later. "We all felt cheated on that one."

Increasing White House control of foreign affairs is one of a range of factors that have caused the 1,000-man State Department to slip from its once-unchallenged status as first among equals in foreign affairs.

As it is now, it not only stands second, but such a weak second that it is often unable to assert leadership over other departments, even on secondary matters. The influence of such agencies as the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency has risen, meanwhile, until it has approached that of the State Department.

## POOR COORDINATION RESULTS

That would pose no problem if the White House was able to orchestrate all aspects of foreign policy. Large as its staff has become—Mr. Kissinger has 110 people—it cannot do so, and in the secondary areas where it counts on the State Department to follow through, coordination is often poor because other agencies have developed the habit of taking their case directly to the White House.

On more than one occasion, as a consequence, the Administration has spoken with conflicting voices. Even the United States Information Agency, an offshoot of the State Department, has begun articulating an independent line.

It adopted a far firmer stand than the department, for example, in its broadcast commentaries last summer on Soviet "duplicitous" in the Middle East—just at a time when the department was relying on quiet diplomacy to persuade the Russians to rectify violations of the Suez Canal cease-fire.

Reminded in an extraordinary memo from Secretary Rogers that U.S.I.A.'s Congressional charter requires it to clear policy with the State Department, Frank Shakespeare, its director, replied that he reported directly to the White House.

A conflict arose recently over the Administration's attitude toward the West German Government's controversial policy of improving relations with Eastern Europe. The official United States view, as outlined repeatedly in public by Mr. Rogers, is unqualified endorsement. But Mr. Kissinger and other members of the White House staff recently undercut that by disclosing personal reservations to several visiting diplomats and to newsmen.

## FUROR IN WEST GERMANY

The result was a furor in Bonn. The West German Government dispatched a high-level emissary to Washington to find out which view accurately reflected the American position. Significantly, the envoy went to the

## U.S. Keeps Funding Tie to RFE

Associated Press

The Nixon administration ruled yesterday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "are not educational or private voluntary organizations" and an established policy of denying CIA financing to them therefore does not apply.

At the same time the administration—through a State Department spokesman—affirmed its intention to continue the policy that was worked out under the leadership of Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State, after a national blowup over CIA financial payments to student organizations and other groups.

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said Saturday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beam programs into Communist Eastern Europe, had spent \$34 million in 1969 and that more than \$30 million of that had come from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Case called for an end to the secret subsidy and for direct, open financing of the stations through congressional action.

State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey said the Katzenbach policy covers "the whole question of funding for domestic educational and private voluntary organizations."

As to how the stations have actually been funded or what their money supply might be in the future, McCloskey said "No comment."

STATINTL

S. 11, S. 12, S. 13, S. 14, S. 15, AND S. 16—INTRODUCTION OF BILLS REPRESENTING A CONTINUATION OF MATTERS CONSIDERED BY THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES DURING THE 91ST CONGRESS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I introduce several items of legislation. Each represents a continuation of matters considered by the Special Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures during the 91st Congress. They are as follows:

First. S. 13, the Physical Evidence Act of 1971, which provides for the issuance of subpoenas for the limited detention of specified individuals for obtaining evidence of identifying physical characteristics in the course of certain criminal investigations, and for other purposes;

Second. S. 11 and, third, S. 12, alternative versions of the Wagering Tax Act Amendments of 1971, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering, to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other such purposes;

Fourth. S. 14, the Student Disturbances Act of 1971, which would prohibit the disruption of federally assisted institutions of higher education, to provide for the enforcement of such prohibition, and for other purposes;

Fifth. S. 15, to amend title XII of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, to empower the Commission on Individual Rights to consider individual security, and for other purposes;

Sixth. S. 16, which would amend title IX of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, to provide for injunctive and other civil relief for those victimized by organized crime, and for other purposes.

Mr. President, each of these items of legislation is introduced as a study bill. I am not committed to their enactment in their present form or indeed to their enactment at all. I do expect, however, in the coming months of this Congress that the subcommittee will hold hearings on these and related matters. I shall also, at a later time, address the Senate separately on each of these items of legislation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore: The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills:

S. 11. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes;

S. 12. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes;

S. 13. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for the issuance of subpoenas for the limited detention of particularly described or identified individuals for obtaining evidence of identifying physical characteristics in the course of certain criminal investigations, and for other purposes;

S. 14. A bill to prohibit the disruption of federally assisted institutions of higher edu-

cation, to provide for the enforcement of such prohibition, and for other purposes;

S. 15. A bill to amend title XII of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, and for other purposes; and

S. 16. A bill to amend title IX of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 to provide civil remedies to victims of activities prohibited by said title, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN, for himself and Mr. INGRAM, were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ORDER FOR REFERRAL OF S. 11 AND S. 12 TO THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE FOLLOWING THEIR PRESENT REFERENCE

Mr. McCLELLAN subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when two bills which I introduced this morning, which are now at the desk, numbered tentatively, I believe, S. 11 and S. 12, shall have been considered and reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, to which I am advised they are now being referred, they be thereafter referred to and considered by the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 18—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO BRING RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY UNDER CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the authorization, and appropriation process of the Congress.

During the last 20 years, several hundred million dollars in U.S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe. In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by CIA as a direct Government subsidy; yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure.

My bill would amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in fiscal 1972. It would also provide that no other U.S. Government funds could be made available to either radio station, except under the provisions of the Information and Educational Exchange Act.

I plan to ask that those administration officials concerned with overseas information policies be called to testify before Congress on the financial needs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Without committing myself to a particular level of funding, my proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million. This figure would, of course, be subject to change as more information becomes available.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty both claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, but available sources indicate direct CIA subsidies pay nearly all their costs. According to returns filed with Internal Revenue—form 990-A—

their combined operating costs for fiscal 1969 were almost \$34 million—\$21,109,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,887,401 for Radio Liberty.

Under the auspices of the Advertising Council, Radio Free Europe conducts a yearly, multimedia "advertising" campaign.

I have been advised that between \$12 million and \$20 million in free media space is donated annually to this campaign while the return from the public is apparently less than \$100,000. Additionally, both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty attempt to raise money from corporations and foundations, but contributions from these sources reportedly pay only a small part of their total budgets.

The bulk of Radio Free Europe's and Radio Liberty's budgets, or more than \$30 million annually, comes from direct CIA subsidies. Congress has never participated in authorization or appropriations of funds to Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, although hundreds of millions of dollars in Government funds have been spent during the last 20 years.

I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary and when no other Government funds were available. But the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding these radio stations has melted away, and as more open means of funding could have been developed. In other words, the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and congressional approval no longer exist.

In fact, after disclosure in 1967 of CIA funding of the National Student Association, a Presidential committee made up of John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Richard Helms, then and now Director of CIA, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State, recommended that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the Nation's educational or voluntary organizations"—and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy." On March 29, 1967, President Johnson accepted the committee's recommendations and directed they be implemented by all Federal agencies.

Legislation similar to my proposal will shortly be introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman OGDEN R. REND of New York.

I ask unanimous consent to have the bill printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 18) to amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, introduced by Mr. CASE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:



STATINTL

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP

B-6

Q Bob, Senator Case over the weekend said he was introducing legislation today to curb the CIA from bankrolling Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Does the State Department have any response to that?

A Well, I have <sup>no</sup> comment on what the Senator has recommended.

Q But to what extent is the State Department cooperating with Radio Free Europe? Specifically, is the State Department regularly briefing staffers of Radio Free Europe and are RFE personnel free to use the diplomatic pouches of the State Department to communicate with their offices in New York and Washington?

A I don't know the answer to the last question. I myself am not familiar with that.

Now, with respect to the relationship of the radios and the Katzenbach policy which examined the whole question of funding for domestic educational and private voluntary organizations, this Administration endorses the Katzenbach policy and all U. S. agencies



are observing it.

Now, this Administration examined the question of RFE and RL -- Radio Liberty -- closely and concluded that these are not, quote, "educational or private voluntary organizations," and hence the Katzenbach policy does not apply to them.

Now, my answer is "No comment" on questions involving funding. And I will take the first part of your earlier question, since I don't know the answer to that.

Q Well, Bob, is it -- if the Katzenbach policy does not apply, is it then permissible for Government agencies to cooperate with Radio Free Europe as a -- I suppose if they're not a private organization, they're some sort of a semi-public or semi-official organization.

A I'll take the question.

Q What effect does this policy view you've just stated have on the money-raising activities of at least one of these organizations, or possibly both -- the ruling that this is not a private voluntary organization

A I'll take the question.

Q Bob, one last question in that regard: If the Government's view is that these are not private organizations, would the Department then be opposed to Senator Case's proposal that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty be funded directly through the Congressional appropriation process?

A I don't want to comment on that recommendation. I said that earlier.

Q Bob, does this Government see anything auspicious or important in the fact that telephone communications are now being set up between East and West Berlin?

A I didn't know that to be a fact. Is this a report, and is it --

Q It was announced about an hour ago in Berlin; yes, sir.

A I'm sorry, Jim. I didn't know about it.

Q Bob, is our Government using its influence anywhere, like the UN or to counter division, with relation to the scheduled mass executions there

A No comment.

Q Bob, does this --

Q Is there any comment, Bob, on the Lithuanian who has been condemned to death? Are we doing anything in that direction?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q On the RFE question, Bob --

A Yes.

Q -- you mentioned the Katzenbach policy.

Could you briefly outline it as you understand it?

A Well, I would prefer to cite the relevant briefings on this, which were -- and I'll get the specific dates back in my office, but March of 1967 and December of 1967. This was ordered by the last Administration following disclosures that certain organizations, including the National Student Association in the United States, were being covertly funded. And the Katzenbach Committee put forward certain recommendations which were accepted by the then President Johnson. And I think I'd better leave it at that and let you review the record.

25 JAN 1971

Case offers bill

# CIA again charged with policy meddling

By Robert P. Hey

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

STATINTL

Once again, charges of Central Intelligence Agency influence on U.S. foreign policy are reverberating through Congress.

Sen. Clifford P. Case charges that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty actually are financed—clandestinely—by the CIA, to the tune of more than \$30 million annually.

The New Jersey Republican alleges "several hundred million dollars in United States Government funds" have been given these stations over the past 20 years without congressional approval or even knowledge.

✓ In New York, Bernard Yarow, senior vice-president of Radio Free Europe, says his organization's reaction to the charges is: "No comment."

## Support supposedly private

Both stations beam information to Communist-controlled nations in Eastern Europe. They have stoutly maintained for years that they were financed through private contributions.

Senator Case, the New Jersey Republican, thinks it is high time all this was brought out into the open. He has introduced legislation to have the finances of both stations provided, openly, through the same authorization-and-appropriation process through which Congress controls the budgets of most governmental agencies.

These changes strengthen one present trend—the increasing insistence of Congress—particularly the Senate—on exerting influence upon the direction of United States foreign policy.

But all this also seems like a page out of the recent past. In 1967 it was disclosed that the CIA was funding what had been presumed to be an organization of students without government links, the National Student Association. The uproar at that time was thunderous over clandestine government penetration of student organizations, with all the implications of potential infringement on academic freedom.

## Earlier report quoted

Senator Case now quotes, with considerable irony, a recommendation made by a presidential committee which investigated that CIA funding.

It recommended that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the

nation's educational or voluntary organizations," and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy."

Sources close to Senator Case say he is not trying to close down Radio Free Europe, but merely to bring into the open the government's relationship to it.

The view here is that the CIA for 20 years has remained the financier of Radio Free Europe, in the Case charge, due to bureaucratic inertia. "It's the whole question of how does the government change," in the words of one source. No one here suggests there is any Machiavellian plot behind the CIA financing, at least, not at present.

The Case bill is expected to be referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Sen. J. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas, where it is assured a sympathetic hearing. Senator Case is a member of that committee.

for release 24 January 1971

## Senator Case to Introduce Legislation To Bring Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty Under Congressional Scrutiny

Senator Case will introduce legislation on Monday to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the authorization of the Congress. Senator Case said during the last twenty years several hundred million of U.S. Government funds have been expended from <sup>the</sup> secret CIA budget to pay almost totally for the cost of these two radio stations broadcasting to eastern Europe. In the last fiscal year alone over 30 million was provided by the CIA as a direct Government subsidy yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its constitutional role of approving the expenditures.

" My bill would amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in Fiscal Year 1972. It would also provide that no other U.S. Government funds could be made available to either radio station except under the provisions of the Information and Educational Act."

Senator Case stated he would ask both Administration officials concerned with overseas policy be called to testify before the Congress on the financial needs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Without committing himself to a particular level of funding his proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million. This figure would of course be subject to change as more information becomes available.

## OUTLAW URGED FOR STATIONS

STATINTL

### Radio Free Europe Now In CIA Sphere, Case Warns

By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, Jan. 23—Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) announced today that he will introduce legislation Monday to provide for open congressional financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Mr. Case explained that, if approved, the legislation would remove the stations from the need for secret funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. He said that in the last fiscal year, the CIA provided a direct subsidy of \$30 million to the stations which broadcast to the Soviet Union and five Eastern European Communist countries.

Although both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty claim to be non-governmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, the senator said that "available sources" indicate the CIA pays almost all their costs.

#### Produces Tax Returns

He produced figures from returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service showing that the combined operating costs for the stations in fiscal 1969 was almost \$34 million (\$21,199,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,287,401 for Radio Liberty).

Though a national advertising campaign under the auspices of the Advertising Council uses somewhere between \$12 and \$20 million in free media space to solicit contributions for the stations, Mr. Case said, returns from the public amount to less than \$100,000.

The stations raise the rest of their budgets from corporate and foundation contributions, he said.

"Congress has never partici-

pated in authorization or appropriations of funds to Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, although hundreds of millions of dollars in government funds have been spent during the last 20 years," Senator Case said.

"I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary and when no other government funds were available," he went on.

#### Lessening Of Tension

But now, the senator asserted, with the lessening of international tension and with the melting of secrecy, some means of open financing of the stations should have been provided.

"In other words, the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and congressional approval no longer exist," Senator Case said.

The senator was not critical of the work of the stations, both which have their main offices and studios in Munich, Germany. His legislation, in fact, would authorize \$30 million for continuation of their work. He simply wants Congress to supervise the spending of tax payers' money.

Radio Free Europe, started in 1950, broadcasts to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Radio Liberty, opened a year later, concentrates only on the Soviet Union. In 1956, Radio Free Europe was criticized for raising false hopes of help for the Hungarian rebels. Since then, the stations have been his controversial.

Informed congressional sources have no doubts about the close tie-up between the stations and the government.

A full-time liaison officer from

the consulate in Munich is assigned to go over program content to make it conform to U.S. government policy, they point out. Because classified as well as unclassified government information is provided, security personnel check out the stations, the sources report.

Further, they say U.S. embassy officials from Eastern Europe get briefings at Radio Free Europe. The station, in turn, uses the coded communications of the Munich consulate to keep in touch with Washington, the sources report.

Though their studios are in Germany, the transmitters for the stations are in Spain, Portugal and Taiwan, all countries with special arrangements with the United States, the sources report.

#### 1937 Panel's Finding

In 1937, after disclosures of CIA financing of the National Student Association, a presidential committee made up of John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Richard Helms, CIA director, and Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, then under secretary of State, recommended that no federal agency should provide covert funds for any of the nation's "educational or voluntary organizations."

President Johnson accepted the committee's recommendations. On March 29, 1937, he ordered all federal agencies to implement them.

Senator Case's bill, similar to one shortly to be introduced in the House by Representative Ogden R. Reid (R., N.Y.), would provide funds for the stations out of the Informational and Educational Exchange Acc. It would forbid funding by any other government channel.

## CIA FUNDS OVERSEAS RADIO, CASE CHARGES

Exclusive to The Times From Reuters

WASHINGTON — Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both broadcasting into Eastern Europe from Munich, are financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, and as such should be under congressional control, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said Saturday.

He charged that although the two stations claim to be non-governmental operations, the CIA actually paid nearly all of their costs—a total of about \$30 million—for the fiscal year ending last June 30.

He said he would introduce legislation in the Senate Monday to bring the stations under the authorization and appropriation processes of Congress. He added that Rep. Ogden R. Reid (R-N.Y.) would introduce similar legislation

in the House.

Case said he would initially propose continued funding at the \$30 million level, but call for hearings to determine the actual amount of money needed

for the stations' operations.

Case noted that when it was noted that the CIA had been supporting the National Student Assn., President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered an end to secret government funding of educational and voluntary organizations.

STATINTL

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
NEWS

M - 2,110,234  
S - 3,007,694

JAN 24 1971

STATINTL

# Case Says CIA Funds RFE & Radio Liberty

By FRANK VAN RIPER  
Washington, Jan. 23 (News Bureau)—Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) charged today that



Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are being secretly funded by the Central Intelligence Agency to the tune of "more than \$30 million" a year. Case, who said he will introduce legislation Monday to bring the supposedly non-governmental stations "under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress," contended:

"During the last 20 years, several hundred million dollars in United States government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to eastern Europe. In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by the CIA as a direct government subsidy; yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional and constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Radio Free Europe broadcasts to East European Communist countries and Radio Liberty to the Soviet Union. Both originate in Munich.

## Explains His Stand

In a statement, Case said his bill would amend existing legislation to make two stations, which rely heavily on pro-U.S. broadcasting, eligible to receive government money. His proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million—the same level of funding allegedly coming from the intelligence agency.

"I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary and no other government funds were available," Case said. "But the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased and as more open means of funding could have been developed."

"In other words," Case went on, "the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and congressional approval no longer exist."



Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP

# Case Would Bar C.I.A. Aid For Radio Free Europe

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23—Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that the Central Intelligence Agency had spent several hundred million dollars over the last 20 years to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty functioning.

Mr. Case, a member of the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees, said that he would introduce legislation Monday to bring Government spending on the two stations under the authorization and appropriations process of Congress. Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, said today that he would introduce similar legislation in the House.

Radio Free Europe, founded in 1950, and Radio Liberty, formed a year later, both have powerful transmitters in Munich, West Germany, staffed by several thousand American technicians and refugees from Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty broadcasts only into the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe to other Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia.

Both organizations have offices in New York and purport to be privately endowed with funds coming exclusively from foundations, corporations and the public. Both, however, are extremely reticent about the details of their financing.

Senator Case noted in a statement that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions." However, he went on, "available sources indicate direct C.I.A. subsidies pay nearly all their costs."

The Senator said that the Central Intelligence Agency provided the stations with \$30 million in the last fiscal year without formal Congressional approval.

## Disclosures Restricted

Under Agency's operating rules, its activities—such as covert funding—are approved by the

National Security Council. However, disclosure to Congress is limited to a handful of senior legislators on watchdog committees of each house.

The Central Intelligence Agency and Radio Free Europe both declined to comment today on Senator Case's statement. Efforts to elicit comment from Radio Liberty were unavailing.

Covert C.I.A. funding of the two stations has, however, been an open secret for years, although the C.I.A., in accordance with standing policy, and the two stations themselves have consistently refused to discuss either their operations or their funding.

Citing returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service in the 1969 fiscal year, Mr. Case said that the stations' combined operating costs that year totaled \$33,997,336. Of this, he said, Radio Free Europe spent \$21,109,935 and Radio Liberty \$12,887,401.

Funds Sought by Advertisement "The bulk of Radio Free Europe's and Radio Liberty's budgets, or more than \$30 million annually, comes from direct C.I.A. subsidies," Mr. Case charged. "Congress has never participated in authorization of appropriations of funds to R.F.E. or R.L., although hundreds of millions of dollars in Government funds have been spent during the last 20 years."

Mr. Case pointed out that Radio Free Europe conducted a yearly campaign for public contributions under the auspices of the Advertising Council. Between \$12 million and \$20 million in free media space is donated annually to this campaign, he said, but the return from the public is "apparently less than \$100,000."

Furthermore, he said, both stations attempt to raise money from corporations and foundations but contributions from these sources reportedly pay only a small part of the stations' total budgets.

Senator Case said that his proposed legislation would seek to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds for both stations in the fiscal year beginning next July 1. His proposal would call for an initial sum of \$30 million, but he said that the sum would be subject to change.

## Bar on Other Funds

At the same time, Mr. Case said, his proposal would provide that "no other" United States Government funds could be made available to either station except under the provisions of the act. He also said that he would ask that Administration officials concerned with overseas information policies be called to testify in order to determine the amount needed for the stations' operations. "I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary, and when no other Government funds were available," Mr. Case said.

But, he went on, the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding the stations has "melted away," and as more open means of funding could be developed.

"In other words," he said, "the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and Congressional approval no longer exist."

## John Created XXX

Mr. Case pointed out that in 1967, after there had been public disclosure that the C.I.A. had been secretly funding the National Student Association, President Johnson created a committee that was headed by Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, the Under Secretary of State, and that included Richard Helms, head of the C.I.A., and John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

He further noted that on March 29, 1967, Mr. Johnson publicly accepted the committee's recommendation that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy."

People familiar with the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty noted that both had been started at the peak of the Cold War and had just "gone rolling on" ever since. "The second committee, whose members these sources declined to identify, worked over a year and then turned in secret recommendations to Mr. Johnson. However, Mr. Johnson pigeonholed the recommendations and finally left the problem for the incoming Nixon Administration to solve, and when no other Government funds were available," Mr. Case said.

"They solved all the tough ones," one source said, "but they were under such pressure from Johnson to get their report out and get the heat from Congress and the public out off that they didn't solve the funding of the stations. They turned it over to another committee."

The second committee, whose members these sources declined to identify, worked over a year and then turned in secret recommendations to Mr. Johnson. However, Mr. Johnson pigeonholed the recommendations and finally left the problem for the incoming Nixon Administration to solve, and when no other Government funds were available," Mr. Case said.

STATINTL

E - 640,783

S - 681,831  
JAN 3 1971

## Sen. Case Fights Secrecy On Radio Free Europe Aid

By LINDA J. HEFFNER

Bulletin Washington Bureau

Washington—Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ), charging that millions of dollars in Central Intelligence Agency funds is used to operate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, is urging Congress to control the funding of the two stations.

Case said he plans to introduce legislation tomorrow calling for the two propaganda stations to be operated "under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress."

"During the last 20 years," Case said in a statement yesterday, "several hundred million dollars in U. S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe."

"In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by the CIA as a direct government subsidy, yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

### Most Costs Linked to CIA

Case said that although Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty both claim to be non-governmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, high sources indicate that direct CIA subsidies pay nearly all their costs.

According to Internal Revenue Service returns, he said, the combined operating cost of the two stations for fiscal 1969 was almost \$34 million—\$21.1 million for Radio Free Europe and \$12.8 million for Radio Liberty.

Although Radio Free Europe conducts a fund-raising campaign each year, Case said, he has been informed that only about \$12 to \$20 million in free advertising space is donated, less than \$100,000 is contributed by the public and from corporations and foundations are small.

The rest, he said, is paid for by the CIA, about \$20 million each year, Case said.

comes from the CIA.

Asked about Case's charges, a CIA spokesman said:

"The Central Intelligence Agency never responds to statements."

Other Washington sources report that despite insistence by the two stations that they are private organizations U. S. officials assigned to the American consulate general in Munich, Germany, maintain extremely close contact with them.

At least one of these officials, according to the sources, maintains a full-time liaison role to the two stations with a mission of assuring that their program content does not differ from U. S. policy.

To keep the stations informed, the sources said, the liaison man passes on a steady stream of classified and unclassified U. S. Government documents reporting on events in Eastern Europe.

### Security Inspection

In addition, the sources said, U. S. Government security officers regularly inspect the headquarters of the two stations to make sure the facilities for keeping the classified material are secure.

The sources added that the Government's official connection with the stations is further heightened by a State Department program which regularly brings American embassy officials throughout Eastern Europe to Munich for extensive briefing sessions.

In addition, the sources said, coded communications of the consulate general are regularly used for communicating with Washington, with the stations apparently having the use of the Government's diplomatic pouch and Army Post Office facilities.

Case's allegations bring to mind the 1967 disclosure that the CIA was funding the National Student Association.

At that time, a presidential commission, composed of John Gardner, then secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; CIA Director Richard Helms, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then under secretary of state, recommended that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations."

President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the recommendation implemented by all federal agencies.

Appropriations Sought

Case said the bill he will introduce tomorrow would amend the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds to the two radio stations in fiscal 1972.

It also will provide, he said, that no other federal funds could be made available to either station, except under the act.

Case said his proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million, but that Administration officials would be called to testify on the financial needs of the stations.

The New Jersey senator said a bill similar to his will soon be introduced in the House by Rep. Ogden R. Reid (R-NY).

24 JAN 1971

## Proposes CIA Cut Off Radio Station Funds

By RICHARD DUDMAN

Chief Washington Correspondent  
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 --  
Senator Clifford P. Case (Rep.),  
New Jersey, proposed Saturday  
that the United States drop the  
pretense that Radio Free Eu-  
rope and Radio Liberty are pri-  
vate enterprises and begin fi-  
nancing them openly.

Although the two propaganda  
stations have been widely  
known to be operations of the  
Central Intelligence Agency,  
Case became possibly the first  
public official to blurt out the  
truth publicly.

Radio Free Europe, beamed  
to Eastern Europe, and Radio  
Liberty, beamed to the Soviet  
Union, operate in Munich, West  
Germany, ostensibly on private  
contributions.

But Case said these contribu-  
tions apparently come to less  
than \$100,000 a year, with mod-  
est additional amounts from  
foundations and corporations,  
whereas the stations' operating  
expenses for fiscal 1969 were al-  
most \$34,000,000.

He showed copies of returns  
they filed with the Internal Re-  
venue Service reporting that op-  
erating costs were \$21,102,935  
for Radio Free Europe and  
\$12,887,401 for Radio Liberty.

### Free Advertising

Case said he had been advised  
that between \$12,000,000 and  
\$20,000,000 in free media space  
was donated annually to the  
fund raising campaign under  
auspices of the Advertising  
Council.

"In the last 20 years several  
hundred million dollars in Uni-  
ted States Government funds  
have been expended from secret  
CIA budgets to pay almost to-

tally for the costs of these two  
radio stations broadcasting to  
Eastern Europe," Case said.  
"In the last fiscal year alone,  
over \$30,000,000 was provided  
by CIA as a direct government  
subsidy; yet at no time was  
Congress asked or permitted to  
carry out its traditional consti-  
tutional role of approving the  
expenditure."

The Senator said he would in-  
troduce a bill Monday amend-  
ing the United States Informa-  
tion and Educational Exchange  
Act of 1948 to authorize funds  
for the two stations in fiscal  
1972. The bill also would pro-  
vide that no other U.S. Govern-  
ment funds may go to either ra-  
dio station except under provi-  
sions of the act.

Case said he would ask that  
Administration officials con-  
cerned with overseas informa-  
tion policies be called to testify  
on the financial needs of the  
stations. His proposal calls ten-  
tatively for an authorization of  
\$30,000,000.

### Justification Lessens

Case said he could under-  
stand why covert funds might  
have been used for a year or  
two in an emergency situation.

"But the justification for cov-  
ert funding has lessened over  
the years as international ten-  
sion has eased, as the secrecy  
surrounding these radio stations  
has melted away, and as more  
open means of funding could  
have been developed," he said.  
"In other words, the extraor-  
dinary circumstances that might  
have been thought to justify cir-  
cumvention of constitutional  
processes and congressional ap-  
proval no longer exist."

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## Case Bill Strips Secrecy From Radio Free Europe

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) announced yesterday that he will introduce legislation Monday to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under congressional scrutiny by substituting direct appropriations for secret funding of the two organizations.

The bill would provide an initial \$30 million grant to the two stations, nominally run by private groups but widely known to be principally bankrolled by the Central Intelligence Agency. Case said his bill, which would amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, would prohibit the use of any other government funds for the two stations.

"During the last 20 years," Case said, "several hundred million dollars in U.S. government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe." He added:

"In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30,000,000 was provided by CIA as a direct government subsidy; yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Both Radio Free Europe and



CLIFFORD CASE

... sponsors RFE reform

Radio Liberty attempt to raise funds from corporations and foundations, Case said, but the bulk of their operating budgets come from direct CIA subsidies although the "justification for covert funding has lessened over the years."

21 JAN 1971

# Case to Lift Cover On CIA Radio Aid

By GEORGE SHERMAN

Star Staff Writer

Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., will present legislation tomorrow to end what he claims are secret multimillion dollar subsidies given by the Central Intelligence Agency to private American radio stations broadcasting to Communist Europe.

According to a statement issued yesterday, Case charges that last fiscal year alone the CIA gave "over \$30 million" to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "as direct government subsidy." Both supposedly are non-governmental anti-Communist stations. Both are based in Munich, Germany.

"During the last 20 years several hundred million dollars in United States Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe," Case charged.

## Substitute Funding Sought

Case, a member of both the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations committees, said he will present legislation to bring the two stations under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress. He will call tentatively for a \$30 million authorization, he said, under the amended U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

Rep. Ogden R. Reid, R-N.Y., will introduce similar legislation in the House, Case said.

In developing his case, Case said that income tax returns showed that the combined operating costs of the two stations in fiscal 1969 were nearly \$34 million (\$21,109,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,837,401 for Radio Liberty).

Of that amount, he charged, \$30 million came from the CIA. Less than \$100,000 came from the public, through a free advertising campaign by the Advertising Council on the media in this country, and a "small part" more came from private corporations and foundations, Case said.

## Easing of Tension Noted

Case charged that any possible justification for this "covert funding" has lessened over the years with the easing of international tensions.

The New Jersey Republican said he would ask that administration officials be called to testify before Congress on the needs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

He noted that in 1967, after disclosures that the CIA was providing funds for the National Student Association, President Johnson accepted a recommendation that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's

educational or voluntary organizations."

That recommendation, which added that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy," was made by John Gardner, then secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Richard Helms, director of CIA, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then undersecretary of State.

"The extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes" in an "emergency situation" years ago, said Case, "no longer exist."

## Evidence Cited

Sources close to Case say evidence exists to prove that the two stations are really adjuncts of the U.S. government. They say that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty receive classified documents from the American consulate general in Munich for use in their broadcasts.

Furthermore, the sources say, Radio Free Europe sends messages to Washington — presumably to the CIA — using the secret coding system of the consulate general.

Observers here said Case merely is bringing out into the open a situation known in official circles for years.

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